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"ONE WHOM YE KNOW NOT"

(From an Officers' Bible Study Group in India)*

You invited me to send a brief article regarding some aspect of Islam in India or something in regard to observations of missions to Moslems.

This devotional meditation arose directly from the stimulus of your letter, and served us for the basis of an Officers' Christian Union discussion.

A fresh stimulus came through the visit of a friend, a deeply thoughtful Moslem doctor whose sincerity in seeking the truth seems to be beyond doubt. His chief stumbling block seems to be the necessity for an Atonement or sacrifice at all—i.e., that God can forgive sins freely to the repentant, seeking soul. He has read some of the anti-Christian propaganda of the Ahmadiya sect, and has lent us their English-Arabic parallel version of the Koran which I have nearly finished reading. (I am surprised at the poverty of ideas of the Koran and its scrappy patchwork of Old Testament fragments woven endlessly into the other few recurring themes. It is hard to see what grip the Book can have on the minds of thinking men. Is it really their intense religious pride which makes them so exalt the Book? Or is the Arabic original a powerful emotional force? Or does the strength of Islam lie outside the Koran itself?) There is doubtless some parallel between the Jews of our Lord's day and the Moslems today, whether I have focussed it clearly or not. Take, for example, the text:

"There standeth One among you Whom ye know not"

* Received by air-mail from the Punjab, India, and published anonymously by request.—Z.

(John 1:26). These words were addressed to monotheists of an ancient Semitic race, rich in experience and tradition of God. They were at the moment concerned over God's *present* message, by the latest of their line of prophets, concerning One who was to be the end of all prophecy; "Prepare ye the way of the Lord. . . . He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire" (Luke 3: 4, 16). These men were proud of their divinely-given faith and contemptuous of contemporary idolatry and atheism. Their daily prayer habit was public, even ostentatious. Theirs was a religion of meticulous codes of conduct; the letter of the Law had for them overgrown the spirit of it. They were shortly to unite in horror in face of the supposed blasphemy against the Unity of God in the claims of Him who said: "I and the Father are One" (John 10: 30).

John the Baptist came as a prophet from God, unique and final, inasmuch as his duty was to point in person to the Christ. Earlier prophets had merely written of His suffering and glory. But John was to awaken men's conscience to the horror and urgency of sin, and then publicly to indicate "the Lamb of God Which taketh away the sin of the world."

On the eve of this electrifying announcement John solemnly charged his nation with culpable ignorance, the tragedy and the shame of human religion which never arrives at the knowledge of God. "My Successor is among you, One Whom you do not recognize" (Moffatt). The Light had entered the world—the world which existed through Him—yet the world did not recognise Him. He was the Wisdom of God Which none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. It was because they knew Him not that they fulfilled the words of the prophets in condemning Him: "As for this fellow, we know not from whence He is" (John 9: 29).

Why did not the world recognise our Lord? Because He did not answer to the world's expectations. Man had never seen God and would not heed the declaring of Him in the only-begotten Son. The world wanted a Dictator and Superman, not a Saviour. Man's self-esteem refused to acknowl-

edge its need of a Sacrifice and a Redeemer. The Lamb of God, taking away sin, was repugnant to human thought. Hence when Christ came as the Divine Healer, bringing God's pronouncement and God's remedy, diseased humanity both denied the diagnosis and crucified the Physician.

This was true in privileged Israel. It was true also of the pagan world, as Paul challenged it in its intellectual citadel, from its own agnostic text: " 'God—*The Unknown!*' Him declare I unto you!" It is true today. How we fail to recognise the Lord Jesus Christ as *our* contemporary also! He stands among us, unknown by the man in the street. *Among us!* Can we realise it—and make others realise it too?

Since the Creation God had been unwilling to remain thus unknown. He had sent messages to each generation by His prophets. Last of all He sent His Son. It is to our shame as Christians that we have failed to declare Him worthily in our modern scene. How little some of us know about the ways men think—the atheistic and antitheistic popular philosophies of politicians, thinkers, novelists and playwrights who influence our fellow-men, even apart from the beliefs of the great religions of mankind. We need to learn how to point effectually to the Unknown among us, as John did, so that our friends may be roused to follow Him and investigate until they establish their own conviction. We need to study also the danger of getting the facts half-wrong about our Lord. Philip did this (John 1: 45) and nearly ruined the influence of his testimony to Nathanael. His practical appeal, "Come and see!" alone saved the situation.

Moslems down the centuries have been handicapped by having the facts wrong about Jesus of Nazareth. They have been held back in perplexed horror by twisted half-truths, often the relics of Christian heresy. So long as men regard Him thus, He remains unknown to them.

This is a challenge to us to offer a sensitive, instructed declaration of our own holy faith. Supremely important to our evangelistic witness will be a deep understanding of the necessity for our Saviour's suffering and death for our sins.

Why is it that without the shedding of blood there is no remission; and that our sin can be put away only by the sacrifice of Christ? Care will be taken, also, to avoid the stumbling-block of cleavage in the God-head due to ill-defined statements of the Atonement—as if Christ had intervened to appease an angry Deity. Any suspicion of discord or cross-purposes in the counsel of God will be eliminated. The scriptural distinctions in the activity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit will be patiently made clear (John's Gospel, chapters 14-16; I Corinthians 15), with emphasis on the uncreated majesty of the Lord Jesus. The Christian's freedom and latitude in grace will be explored and practised thoughtfully in the presence of critical observers so that they may see it is freedom to *do* God's pleasure, not freedom from His will. Above all there will be a triumphant emphasis on our Lord's Resurrection in power, offsetting the weakness and humiliation of His death.

Finally, if our presentation of the Lord Jesus is to be acceptable to Moslems we must so know Him ourselves, in the daily company of discipleship, that our "Come and see!" may bring them face to face with Himself. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth" (John 1: 14). When men are gripped by the authority of Christ's foreknowledge of them, and are brought into the apprehension of His Mediatorship (as in the case of Nathanael in John 1: 49, 51), then their certainty will be secure and unshamed—nothwithstanding that the world knows them not, as it knew Him not.

AN INDIAN ARMY OFFICER.

The Punjab, India

"WHOEVER SHALL CONFESS ME BEFORE MEN . . ."

In the April issue of THE MOSLEM WORLD for 1941, the late Dr. Henry H. Riggs, Secretary of the Near East Christian Council and a missionary stationed in Beirut, wrote a thought-provoking article entitled, "Shall We Try Unbeaten Paths in Working for Moslems?" The NECC had conducted an inquiry into the causes of the relative sterility of work among Moslems. Many held that an entirely new approach must be launched. Dr. Riggs rightly pointed out that in the Moslem community the religious, social, and political aspects of life are closely intertwined, so that a Moslem who breaks with Islam as a religion also severs all other ties. He is thrown open to complete ostracism. In the light of these drastic results, there are Christian workers who feel very strongly that converts to Christianity should not be encouraged to make an open break. Rather, they should remain within the Moslem community as "secret believers." They should seek to witness and live Christ within the confines of Islam.

There are many reasons given in support of this position. However, the lack of time enables me to discuss only one side of such a debatable issue. Therefore, I shall proceed to a study of the opposite view; in brief, Christian converts drawn from the Moslem community should be urged to make public profession of their faith. There are numerous questions that have raised themselves in my mind as I have pursued this study; questions which, if honestly answered, will perhaps give us a clue to the final solution. The first question that raises itself is: "What did our Lord have to say?"

We own the name of Christians. In so doing we contend that Christ is our supreme authority. "Thus saith the Lord" is a preface the Christian is not free to ignore. Christ was

more than a product of his own age; He is the Word made flesh. Or as the writer of Hebrews has phrased it:

"God, having of old times spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son" (Heb. 1:1).

Our Lord spoke with an authority and a finality that is far removed from the relativism which is often ascribed to His teachings today. Just what are we to do with this Christ who throughout His earthly ministry promised little else but persecution, suffering and hardship?

"In the world ye have tribulation, but be of good cheer for I have overcome the world." (John 16:33)

"Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for My Sake . . . . rejoice and be exceeding glad for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you" (Matt. 5:10-11).

"And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents and cause them to be put to death; and ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. But he that endureth to the end shall be saved."

It was in line with this very problem that Jesus told us not to fear those who kill the body but are unable to kill the soul. And this same Jesus gave to all His followers the command:

"Everyone, therefore, who shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 10:32).

However, of greater moment than any words Jesus spoke is the impact of the life He lived. Here is One who was tempted in all points as we yet without sin. And Jesus was not beckoning anyone to a way of life which He had not first experienced. Who else could drink from His cup? Can we ever fathom the humiliation, the rejection, the death of the sinless Christ, the One altogether lovely? It would be blasphemy to even compare our earthly sufferings with the agony which He endured in Gethsemane and on Calvary. His words and example, therefore, carry added significance since He suffered more than any convert will be called upon to bear.

In addition to the words and life of Christ, we are justi-

fied in being governed by the New Testament writers themselves. Paul, before his conversion, was not only an orthodox follower of Judaism but an outstanding champion of the anti-Christian movement. Surely no Moslem could be called upon to make a break more catastrophic than was Paul's. Nor will any non-Christian convert be called upon to endure as much in the way of persecution and separation as Paul endured. Yet his every writing to the early churches is charged with the note of open and undisguised confession. A clean break with what has gone before. Read his plea to Israel in Romans, chapters 9 to 11.

"If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead thou shalt be saved. For with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

To the Philippians Paul writes:

"Wherefore also God highly exalted Him and gave Him a name that is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father."

Perhaps this is enough to establish the point. Where in the words of Jesus or in the New Testament Epistles do we find teaching that encourages "secret" belief? This has not been intended as a mere listing of "proof" texts, but an effort to point to the whole impact of apostolic teaching as it calls for open and public confession—regardless of the consequences.

Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, in his masterful and oft-quoted work, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World,* makes this statement: "To remain true to its essential character is today an unbreakable law for Christianity." It is the writer's conviction that open confession of one's faith in Christ is a part of this essential character. We are not at liberty to throw overboard apostolic methods and teachings just because these do not seem to measure up to the relative pragmatism of our own day.

A second question we need to face is this: "Can the Church of Christ be built on the principle of secret witnessing? Again, I have been led to the same conclusion. I do not

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think the early Church could have grown or thrived as it did, nor expand into new territories in succeeding generations if "secret" belief were the order of the day. Peter was being neither tactful nor secret when he preached at Pentecost and told the assembled multitude (mainly Jews) that they had crucified and slain this Jesus of Nazareth whom God raised up. Yet 3,000 were converted, and their conversion could not have been very secret since we know the number. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church" is a time-worn phrase but nonetheless true. The courage of Christian martyrs, who in every age have faced persecution and death rather than recant, is enough to make most of us ashamed when we note our comfort and ease in treading the Christian path. In this regard, I would make two observations. The first is that Christians ought not to seek martyrdom and persecution as an end in itself. It has been rightly observed that it is often harder to live for Christ than to die for Him. The examples we read of the early victims of the Roman persecutions who actually forced their heads into the mouths of the wild beasts border on the pathological. Secondly, we realize fully that discretion is a Christian virtue. There are times when the Church must take to the Catacombs and prevent destruction and death. Paul fled for his life more than once. Our Lord also, for that "His hour had not yet come." Therefore, though we are called upon to witness to the faith that is in us, we are not to seek persecution and death, but we are to face them when thrust unavoidably upon us.

I think we are all agreed that the purpose of missions and all Christian endeavor is to build up upon earth the body of Christ, which is His Church. We are to win followers for Christ, these to constitute the true membership of His Kingdom. The New Testament documents we have seem to show that this early Church was not built up by "secret" believers who never broke with their former groups; but by courageous souls who confessed Christ as Lord and through Him became "more than conquerors" over famine, nakedness, peril, sword or whatever befell them as the result

of their unqualified allegiance. To bring the problem closer home, let us ask, "Can the Church be firmly established today in Moslem lands by means of building up a large body of secret believers?" I think an affirmative answer to this question would be exceedingly hard to support. It is the essence of Christianity that it must be passed on. Just to receive Christ and never pass Him on to others is unthinkable. We are "channels" of the Water of Life, not pools. One's Christian life is greatly impaired if he never shares his faith. Further, think of the drag and pull of the Moslem environment if one maintained an outward identity with Islam while inwardly trying to live Christ. Growth in grace and sanctification demand fellowship and encouragement from fellow Christians. Many young people in America lose their former faith after one or two years in a secular University, even though many such institutions are nominally Christian. Imagine then the difficulty of a lifetime spent in a violently anti-Christian community such as the Moslem world.

Dr. J. Christy Wilson in writing on this subject presents a very telling argument. He points out that the Christian Church is a social unit in much the same sense as the family. It must go on from generation to generation.

> "Christian families rather than individuals are the foundation stones of the Church, and there must be an organization of Christians to make a superstructure that will endure. The organized Christian Church must have permanence, otherwise as individuals pass on there will always be the same job to do over in each generation—and the Moslem world can never be won for Christ."

An anonymous missionary from the Near East writing on the subject of "Dynamic Evangelism" had this to say:

> "Doubtless there are many secret believers in Christ who for one reason or another prefer not to be known openly as Christians, so they retain their social connection with Islam. Perhaps they lack the necessary courage or are not sure of a means of livelihood. Perhaps they feel they would be able to exert a wholesome influence from within. Whatever their reasons for remaining Moslems outwardly and Christians secretly, such a position encourages hypocrisy whether they will it or not. It also prevents their living a strong Christian life and experiencing the greatest joys of their faith."

We have Christ's promise that He will build His Church. The missionary enterprise is seeking to further that prophecy through the so-called "Younger Churches." Dr. Kraemer gives us this helpful figure:

> "The modern missionary enterprise may be compared to David, who in his combat with Goliath, put aside the armour, the helmet and sword of Saul, because he 'could not move with these.' He trusted in the sling in his hand. The sling in his hand is the clear and persevering witness in words and acts to Christian truth and life, and the building up of living Christian communities" (*Christian Message*—P. 288).

From these observations we draw the conclusion that the Church could not be built today or in any day on the slim scaffolding of "secret" belief.

Another question which enters my mind is this: "Is the maintenance of this veiled faith a fair procedure to those who have gone before and made the open break from Islam?" For example, here is a Moslem who accepts the claims of Christ and yields his life to Him. He is baptized and joins the Church. His troubles then begin. He is disinherited and disowned by his family; he is forsaken by former friends; perhaps he loses his job; he may even be physically abused so that he becomes a true member of the despised Christian minority. On the other hand, there is another young Moslem who undergoes the same spiritual experience but he cannot bring himself to make the open break. He accepts the blessings which Christ offers but remains secure within the fold of Islam. In many ways this latter convert is making his brother's hardship and loneliness the more severe by remaining aloof from the battle. According to the report of the N.E.C.C. published in 1938, there are "thousands" of these secret believers. How many problems would be solved if this large group came out openly for Christ? They would have one another for support and encouragement and they would certainly have a common racial, political and social heritage to share. We might say a similar situation exists in America. Thousands of Christians, if pressed to the point, would say that they are opposed to drinking or gambling or some other national evil.

Yet they offer no audible protest and their alleged convictions are never converted into action. If this large body of Christians would militantly crusade against such evils, a noticeable reform might result. As it is, the brunt of the battle is borne by the faithful few who keep working despite the loneliness and despair and lack of support.

There are many other relevant questions which have not been faced in this brief paper. I should not care to state dogmatically that "secret" belief is never justified, or that a secret believer cannot attain to full Christian maturity. What I do maintain is, that as a general principle governing the life of the Church and its members in Moslem lands, the convert from Islam should be encouraged to make an open break and profess his new found faith. It is interesting to note some of the replies of missionaries in answer to the recommendations made by Dr. Riggs and his committee.

"A flank attack is good but not if we have to abandon our frontal position to make it" . . . . "We hardly believe it possible for any man or woman to be able to go on living a Christian life if he or she deliberately chooses not to come out for Christ." . . . . "The price of salvation is the same as it was in Christ's time. The Church will be founded only by those who are willing to pay the cost of open profession."

These comments, of course, represent only individual opinions. A more formal and impressive verdict was passed by the Conference of Missionaries to Moslems held at Delhi, India in 1938. The following resolution was adopted:

"This conference of Christian workers among Moslems wishes to place on record that while we recognize with gratitude the wide interest in our Lord Jesus Christ evident throughout the Moslem world today, and that many real believers in Christ may never reach the point of identifying themselves with the Christian fellowship, yet we maintain that it is our aim and purpose as Christian missionaries to encourage and teach all to realize the vital necessity of open witness to Christ within the fellowship of the Christian Church."

We close with a word from the article by Dr. Wilson already mentioned:

"May the Christian agencies never adopt a policy that savors of defeatism, or a plan that seems to make it easier to become a Chris-

tian in the Moslem world by failure to witness openly and by joining the only organization in the world that carries forward the Kingdom of God."

A. R. STEVENSON.

Cairo, Egypt

Professor Philip Hitti on the Arab Countries Today

Returning from a visit to the Near East as a messenger of good will Dr. Hitti of Princeton is quoted in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Arab American Affairs* (Oct. 46):

"The face of the Arab countries has changed on the whole," observed Professor Hitti in his interview. Wherever you go, he said, you come upon macadamized roads, streamlined modernistic buildings, schools, and hospitals. He noted that while on his previous visit in 1924 Moslem ladies interviewed him from" behind a screen," on this last visit he met them at cocktail parties with their husbands, and the husbands introduced their wives with the simple American expression, "This is my wife"!

These changes and others, however, observed Professor Hitti, are like a window from which one can peer into more significant changes, upon a scene of transition vibrant with potentialities. The professor noticed a new spirit which expresses itself in the earnest realization that with independence comes responsibility, and with liberty comes the feeling of obligation. The younger generation of educated Arabs are taking independence seriously. "Two possibilities face the Arabs," said Professor Hitti, "if they do not properly assume their responsibilities: foreign intervention or internal dictatorship, as in the case of certain countries of South America." He asked a high Christian religious leader who was bitterly critical of the present Lebanese Government whether he would like to see the French back in Lebanon, and the distinguished cleric shot back: "No, a thousand times no!" Professor Hitti left no doubt that, despite all the obstacles in their way, the Arabs are on the right path towards the realization of independence, liberty and progress.

A VISIT TO CHIEF JUSU

Chief Jusu was formerly our Paramount Chief and had treated me well, so, although he was "broken down," I wanted to bid him farewell before furlough, and do other things.

He is of the great Mandingo, invader tribe, once active in the slave trade, now largely business men of every shady sort, purveyors of charms, bestowers of priced blessings on enterprises of the heathen, who respect and fear them. One gets to think of Mandingo and Moslem as synonymous but there are small, agricultural groups among them who remain pagan. It is far from certain that this able tribe will keep its favored position. (Their cousins, the even smarter Mohammedan Vais are reported as becoming less progressive than the Christian Greboes who are rising to become the second group on the coast after the Americo-Liberian class.) The Mandingo seems not above the more aboriginal native in educational aptitude.

But I like them and like Jusu, whose "breaking down" from rule over the Bandi tribe was probably because of his nationality. Before now the big men of Mandingo stock have been sought as chiefs over other groups, as were the children of Herod and Hohenzollerns once.

Compliments exchanged, I began to ask him about the custom of animal sacrifice in West Africa, for I had long admired their adoption of this practice by which they showed sympathy with local paganism and seemed even more in accordance with the Old Testament.

He told me that it has come down from their fathers. No special place is needed for the rite. At the appointed time their spiritual (unofficial) leader calls them together. He prays to God and to all the Prophets (including Jesus!). When the sacrifice is killed the blood is left for the angels to carry to Heaven. The flesh is cooked and portions are dis-

tributed, especially to the poor, whose prayers will help the donors.

Sacrifice may be for various purposes. There may be a group petition. It may be a thanksgiving. Very common is the "requiem," offered for the deceased, his family and town. A rich man will have a herd sacrificed and for a poor person the chief will find at least a chicken to immolate. Thursday is the best day for sacrifices. The holy days are rather feasts than sacrificial days.

The rite calls for readings from the Koran and the recitation of prayers attributed to the Prophets. Traditional devotions are printed; others are used in manuscript; anyone's prayer may come to have official recognition and use. (So the Moslem Book of Common Prayer is subject to constant revision!)

I also "learned" that the Koran at first was written in Hebrew; secondly, in a language called Hambayatim or Trikiyatin; thirdly, in Arabic. He told how the reason for prayer to the prophets is because we are unworthy, in our uncleanness, to approach God directly. Isa [Jesus] was not crucified himself but another was substituted at God's command.

While Jusu talked I arranged four straws of seemingly equal length on the ground. I asked at last, "Which of these is greatest: Blemma, (Abraham) Musa, (Moses) Isa or Mamadi, (Mohammed)?" "I cannot say."

Asked what the Koran taught about Jesus' birth and glorification, he told me. "If Isa's birth and death were so much more wonderful than the others' does it not show that he is greatest of all?" So saying, I straightened out the straw representing our Lord for it had been bent under at top and bottom. Now it was longer than the other three. But Jusu was unmoved. "Mamadi is greatest of all because he came last and gave us full and final truth!"

So it went. I tried to lay a foundation for future reasoning by explaining that when we say "Son of God" we do not mean it just as it sounds, as if God had changed and become a father at some time.

I asked him what is the most important thing about God and was most surprised to hear, "Love." If West African Mohammedanism sees Love as God's chief attribute, who can be pessimistic about its making a closer approach to him?

It is interesting to consider how well, on the whole, these people keep to the ways of Mecca. They are meticulous in daily prayer, abstinence from "non-Koshur" edibles, and in observing Ramadan. They drink sometimes; they take as many wives as possible at all times. But their suave dignity, their devotion, their brotherhood seem real. They can uplift their fellows and the lower class Negroes more ably than we can, even though we know they can take them "up one flight" only and that there they would stay, bettered, but not improving.

The results that follow from their distance from Mecca or Cairo are sometimes amusing. Common report among them is that Mecca has buildings so high that their tops are invisible. The rare pilgrim who has been there is treated most devoutly. One such came through our country in a green hat and on a white horse and he was almost worshipped. Rascals with a bit more than the average knowledge of Arabic buy themselves a few books and come out from the big Moslem cities in French territory. They set up as scholars and rake in offerings from the simpler Mandingoes who congregate in the larger villages for the great observances of self-denial and self-expression. One of our evangelists was moved to loud laughter in one town when he heard the local Moslem group being admonished by an alleged Meccan encyclical that one wife was enough for a man who would give his mind to sacred things.

Our Liberian Mandingoes were largely pro-German during the war. "Hitler is three feet from shoulder to shoulder. He has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He will win." They had prayers against the United Nations. An English official assured me that this influence could be traced back to Germans in Monrovia (before Liberia entered the war). Now that we have won I shall remind them of their credu-

lity. But they will have an answer! They always have an answer, the clever people!

Well, Jusu seemed well pleased at my coming. He should be; I don't walk three hours to visit everybody. He seemed more than pleased when I gave him an Arabic book which Dr. J. T. Addison had got for me. I think he could not read it fast enough to discover its intent before I left and he promised me a splendid parting gift. In vain I looked for this for five days. I fear he had got far enough into the book to discover its Christianizing purpose. I'll soon be seeing him and he'll have an excuse.

Are Mohammedans increasing in Liberia? I think it is only so when they manage to dominate a town and when they intermarry with the pagans. Missions like ours may be arresting anything like a mass movement in their direction. Possibly they do not number very many thousands in the Republic. Likely they are fewer than the professed Christians.

Say a prayer for one, a good young Christian Mandingo, that he may leave the easy money of the Plantations and resume his studies in preparation for work among the members of his ancient tribe.

Joseph H. Bessom, O.H.C.

Holy Cross Liberian Mission

SOME RELATIONSHIPS OF SAMARITANISM WITH JUDAISM, ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY*

There still exists at Nablus, the present capital of the District of Samaria, the small community of Samaritans, who claim to have lived on the lower slopes of Mount Gerizim since very early Israelitish days. They do not live on the slopes of the mountain opposite, Ebal, on the summit of which there once stood a Christian edifice, to offset that of the Samaritans. They connect their religion and their origin only with Mount Gerizim, on which their annual Passover is still celebrated—presumably the one genuine blood-sacrifice surviving in so-called monotheistic forms of worship. In these modern days when political tension is at its lowest, this Passover-relic is attended by Jews from different parts of Palestine, perhaps desirous of seeing how the annual sacrifice was probably performed by their "ancestors."[1]

In the centuries immediately B.C. there was a Temple on Gerizim, destroyed by Hyrcanus, who died in 105 B.C. Today there is a white building housing a Moslem "wali." In the far distant past there must have been a Canaanitish High Place on each peak. This was succeeded by what the Samaritan congregation considers to have been its first "Bethel." In truth there must have been many Bethels in the country. "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain" was enough presumably for Photeina, as the woman of Sychar is called in Greek hagiography, whether the building was in ruins or restoration after its treatment by Hyrcanus.[2] This does not matter; and all our Lord would have had to do was to wave His hand upwards, as He sat by the well-mouth, and suggest a day to be, when "neither in this moun-

* A paper read before the Oriental Society of the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

[1] In the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* there are two pictures of "Samaritan Jews." Vol. 9, 335/336.

[2] H.D.B. 4, 376.

tain nor yet at Jerusalem shall men worship the Father."[3] The days were not so distant, and the words so memorable that they "stuck." The word "Father" in this context is interesting, apart from its Christian connotation, for in later centuries devotees of the sect of Simon Magus claimed that he was an emanation of the divine, who appeared as "Son" amongst the Jews, and then as "Father" amongst the Samaritans.[4]

Nablus itself is a post-Christian foundation, owing its name to the Emperor Flavius Vespasian, who permitted it to be called after him, Flavia Neapolis, or New City, otherwise "Naples." Flavius was Roman Emperor at the time of the Fall of Jerusalem, so that his interest in the "rival" city is worth a moment's consideration.[5] Nablus is on the site of the ancient Shechem, twelve miles nearer Jerusalem than the City of Samaria, which Herod the Great had restored some decades previously and called it Sebastiya, after his master Augustus.[6] As Shechem, Nablus had, however, a much longer history. Towards the head of the valleys that lead in the direction of Transjordan and Judea, there was a fortress built to which Shechem gave its name. It was a regular meeting place for the "Joseph" Tribes; and previously to that somewhat famous for the exploits of Abimelech, in whose days were already discernible the beginnings of "syncretism."[7] The ruins of "Tower Shechem" are easily visible from the Great North Road, with the courses of the older Canaanitish wall recently uncovered.

The present Samaritans have been domiciled on the slopes of Gerizim for generations, but they have traditions from the days when they were more widespread. They like to derive their name from the Hebrew *shamar,* to "keep," which claim has helped them to feel that they rather than the Jews had been entrusted with the preservation of the Law. The other (and more likely) theory takes the name

[3] Jno. 4:20, 21.
[4] *History of Christian Biography,* 4:682.
[5] Emperor from 69-79, A.D.
[6] August— (see Greek letters in original).
[7] Judges 9; Gen. 34; I Kings 12. The earliest reference is Gen. 12:6.

back to *Shemer,* the owner of the hill bought by Omri for two talents of silver, cheap at the price even in those days![8] It is worth noting in this connection that the buyer of the hill was blessed with an Arabic name, as one of his predecessors; so that it is hard to resist the conclusion that we have here one of the first references to the relationships of the Israelites of Central Palestine with the Arabs of Transjordan.[9] Samaria later gave its name to the District of which it became the capital. Isaiah called it the "crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim,"[10] a remarkable description geographically and morally! But its meed of greater fame must lie in its having given the nomenclature to this erstwhile dwindling racial group, who constitute an interesting phenomenon for archaeologists and lecturers on the development of Semitic religion; and who incidentally stand out today as probably the naturally "tallest" of the various Palestinian communities. Until the advent of the Arabs the Samaritans had colonies, presumably for commercial purposes, as far south as Gaza, where the remains of one of their sixth century synagogues came to light some ninety years ago, and as far north as Damascus. They mainly congregated in Central Palestine, recent storms having revealed ruins of synagogues between Nablus and Tul Karm. Their traditions are still sought after for the history of the villages round about.

Southeast of Nablus lies the village of *Kafr Haris,* holding the reputed Tomb of Joshua, "who was buried in the border of his inheritance in *Timnath Serah,*" or with a transposition of consonants that is maintained in Arabic, *Timnath Heres.*[11] The village contains two further tombs, those according to Moslem Tradition, of two prophets mentioned in the Qur'an under the names of Dhu'l Nun and Dhu'l Kifl.[12] The former, however, would seem to be more likely an extension of the name of Joshua's father, Nun; while the

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[8] I Kings 16:24.
[9] Montgomery: THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. 36, 266.
[10] Isaiah 28:1.
[11] Joshua 19:50; 24:30.
[12] Suras 21:87; 38:48.

latter has two consonants in common with "Caleb," his fellow-spy. This is the tradition adhered to by the Samaritans and at least has the credit for more known connection with history. Once more the tomb of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was in "the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill country of Ephraim."[13] This domed "wali" is reckoned to be at 'Awarta, standing out well in a hilly village, and to be seen from the main road from Jerusalem. Perhaps the traditions of a somewhat "fossilized" group are less susceptible of change than those of others. Today the community has to live largely on its reputation; some priests still make copies of the Samaritan Torah; but they are not as affluent or industrious as formerly; though they have plans and a few thousand pounds towards the erection of a new Temple on the same beloved mountain. But what did they come from ? and does any theory of their origin satisfy all the facts? They come from roots deep down in Hebrew Palestine; they were there when the Arabs burst into the country seven hundred years A.D., and there were people in Samaria in New Testament times.

It may, therefore, be well at this stage to summarize the allusion to the Samaritans in the New Testament other than the great story already mentioned. There are eleven references, one each in Matthew and John, and the rest in the Lukan writings.[14] So far as the Third Gospel is concerned, these all appear in what is known as "Proto-Luke." Being responsible also for the mention of the Samaritans in Acts, this has been taken as one of Luke's emphases on the inclusive spirit of Jesus. Further, if it were not for the great story in the Fourth Gospel, we would only have bare reference in that book—one that merely serves to accentuate the acid relationship which had grown up between the Judeans and their northern neighbours: while it looks as if the calumny on Jesus was not so much spontaneous as studied abuse on the part of the Jews. "We always said that you were as mad

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[13] Joshua 24:33.

[14] Matt. 10:5; Jno. 8:48; Lk. 9:52; 10:25 ff.; 17:11 ff. Acts 1:8; 8 *passim;* 9:31; 15:3.

as any Samaritan could be." It is impossible to forget the modern use in Arabic of *majnun,* "demon-possessed." What is the connection between these Samaritans, whose picture we have in the New Testament, with those who preceded them in Central Palestine, and those who have survived the exigencies of successive centuries until the resurrection of aggressive Zionism? And did Muhammad know anything about them?

Turning to the Qur'an we come up against the fact that one of the most recent authorities on the Samaritans, Rabbi Gaster, would answer this question in the affirmative.[15] He made personal friendships with the Samaritan priests, and carried on lengthy correspondence with them. Gaster credits the Samaritan form of "monotheism" with what approximates to outstanding influence on nascent Islam. Yet there is no reference to the Samaritans as such in the Qur'an; but just as much as any other Semitic group of the time, they deserved the title of *ahl ul kitab,* for they held the Torah in common with Jews, and they were not so very far away from Arabia. Muhammad can hardly have mixed up the Jews and the Samaritans!

There is, however, the curious reference to *as-Samiri,* the Samaritan, in two of the Suras. Told first in Surat al 'A'raf, it is rehashed with additions in Surat TaHa.[16] The story chiefly concerns the "Golden Calf" and there are differences between the two recensions. The second account has no allusion to the Tables of Stone, while Aaron is not mentioned by name in the first. In al 'A'raf the people apparently produced the calf from their ornaments, an idea reminiscent of the excuse made by Aaron to Moses:—"I cast it into the fire and there came out this calf."[17] In TaHa, on the other hand, the whole responsibility for the production of the calf rests with *as-Samiri,* who "led the people astray" —a phrase very similar to that in which Jeroboam is described more than once, as the king, "who made Israel to

[15] Article in *Encyclopaedia of Islam:* iv, 124 f. and Schweich Lectures, "The Samaritans."

[16] Sura 7:145 ff.; 20:85 ff.

[17] Exod. 32:24.

sin."[18] *As-Samiri* afterwards proceeded to let the people know the reason he had for his action. Aaron comes out in a better light in the second recension; while in both the stiff-neckedness of the Israelities is a common feature, true to the general picture of the Old Testament. The most important passage runs:—

". . . we were loaded with burdens of the ornaments of the people, and we cast them down. So also did *as-Samiri* cast down, and he produced for them a calf, a bodily appearance with a low, then they said (or he said): 'This is your God and the God of Moses; and He has forgotten.' "[19]

It looks very much as if there was some historical confusion either in the mind of Muhammad or in his sources of oral information; and that "this mysterious personage . . . is probably the supposed founder of the Samaritan community, the episode of the Golden Calf" having been mixed up with "the setting up of calf-worship in Samaria by Jeroboam."[20] The Old Testament verses narrate how "the king took counsel and made two calves of gold; and he said unto them, It is too much for you to *go up to Jerusalem*,"—a very significant phrase in view of later history! "Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." Jeroboam then set up one calf in Bethel, and the other one in Dan. "And this thing became a sin, for the people went to worship before the one, even unto Dan." This is the northerly Dan near the sources of the Jordan.[21] There are two comments to make on this story. First, it would not be necessary for Muhammad to know anything about this second calf in Dan, *the one in Samaria would suffice the purpose of his story*. While it is true that the two calves are mentioned both in connection with Jehu, following in the steps of Jeroboam, and in the moralization of history on the part of the editor of II Kings, yet, when Hosea refers to the incident, he is only interested in the calf of Samaria, which "shall be broken in pieces."[22] Secondly, where is the Bethel mentioned

[18] E.g., I Kings 15:26, 34.
[19] Bell's Translation.
[20] Bell: *The Qur'an Translated:* Vol. 1, 293.
[21] I Kings 12:25-33.
[22] II Kings 10:29; 17:16. Hosea 8:5, 6.

in the passage dealing with the original sin of Jeroboam? That there must have been more than one Bethel in the country is more than probable; but it would be extremely unlikely that Jeroboam would have chosen the modern *Beitin,* in spite of its possible connection with Jacob, for no other reason than its geographical propinquity to the Southern Kingdom of Rehoboam, who had actually ridden down to Shechem in the expectation of being made king over all Israel. This Shechem was Jeroboam's capital, and he would surely choose a "Bethel" close by; and here was one on the Mount, which had "traditional" associations with Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, who was "buried in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor."[23] *The Samaritan tradition that Bethel was on Gerizim has a very great deal to say for itself.*

Two further matters remain to be noticed over the question of *as-Samiri,* whom the Muslim historian, Tabari, describes as an Israelite of the Samaritan tribe—a connotation that was not very far wrong, especially if he thought in terms of Jeroboam instead of a rather mythical opponent of Moses.[24] First, *as-Samiri* seems to have become a leper, or at all events some kind of outcast, for his pains in creating for the people "a calf, a bodily appearance with a low." This turn of incident recalls another well-known Samaritan, mentioned in the New Testament, when St. Peter rounded on Simon Magus with, "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God." Simon Magus was so-called because of his sorcery, who "of a long time amazed people with his sorceries."[25] This brings us to the second point, which is that *as-Samiri* was asked by Moses how it all came about. The "Samaritan" replied:

> "I saw what they did not see; and I took a handful of what the messenger left behind, and cast it away."

On further Mosaic investigations, according to the commentary of Jalalein the facts were elicited that *as-Samiri* had

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[23] Gen. 12:6; 33:19. Joshua 24:33.
[24] Heller: *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* iv: 136.
[25] Acts 8:14 ff.

collected some of the dust from the heel of Gabriel's steed, somehow got it inside the calf, and hence "the bodily appearance *with a low*." He added, "I saw your people and they requested me to make a God for them."[26]

There is no doubt that Simon was a formidable magician with a bigger clientele after his death than before, whether the statue to him at Rome can be proved a mistake on the part of his fellow-Samaritan, Justin Martyr,[27] yet that he had faded out so far as his cult in most of the Mediterranean world was concerned by Origen's time would not be questioned; but that he could well be the *tertium quid* in this garbled story is something that might repay further investigation. He certainly had as much vogue as Jeroboam; and both of them succeeded in obtaining mention in Holy Writ. But the Qur'an really says no more than that *as-Samiri* was the founder of the Samaritan cult; nothing beyond that could be stated with any degree of confidence.

Dr. Gaster, however is prepared to posit a far closer connection between the Samaritan form of monotheism and Islam at the latter's beginnings.[28] He contends that both halves of the *Kalimatay ashShahadah* owe first their substance and then their form to Samaritanism. The very Islamic formula of the Divine Unity is modelled on the corresponding Samaritan phrase. This is followed up with the claim that the second half is also a loan, or at least an adaptation of the Samaritan way of speaking of Moses as the Prophet or Messenger of God. For the Samaritans, Moses, because of his isolation, was a greater factor in Samaritanism than he was in Christianity, or even Judaism. But the borrowing is not considered to stop here, for the loan includes the *Basmala,* and even the duplication of *arRahman ar Rahim.* The *Fatiha* further is indebted both in nomenclature and material; while the ideal of the *Mahdi* springs from that of *Taheb*. The Pentateuch and the Psalms seem to

[26] Baidawi and Jalalayn, ii:69.
[27] *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* 4:682.
[28] See Article in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* iv, 124; Schweich Lectures, 1923, "The Samaritans," 75.

have been the only books of the Old Testament known to Muhammad. The mysterious letters which occur in the first verses of so many of the "suras" likewise have a Samaritan ancestry.

The question arises as to whether it is possible to accept this hypothesis. Why not go further and suggest that the isolation of Moses in Samaritanism might have led to the isolation of Muhammad in Islam: or that the idea of the Jewish corruption of their Scriptures was a carry-over from the Samaritan claim that they had tampered with them? It is possible that later contact with Samaritans did assist in the development of the Muslim Doctrine of *tahrif*.[29] It is perhaps possible to detect a certain similarity between Islamic and Samaritan Prayer ritual. "I was struck," says a recent visitor to the Samaritan Passover, "by the resemblance to the Moslem mode of prayer, both in prior ablutions and prostrations."[30] But are not most of these contentions based on theories which the facts do not seem to warrant?

For the formula of the Divine Unity the Qur'an can show an even shorter version, which Professor Margoliouth considered the original; and which actually comes in the New Testament.[31] The Deuteronomic form would surely be known to the Jews of Arabia in Muhammad's time, whatever else they may not have known. There is Quranic basis too for questioning the rightness of the Samaritan background for the repetition of *arRahman arRahim*.[32] Muhammad would seem to have regarded the former as a possible alternative for "Allah." The *Fatiha* too can be paralleled elsewhere than in formularies learned at the foot of Mount Gerizim; and, while it is true that if "Moses was not the greatest Jew who ever lived," he was "the greatest Jew who never lived,"[33] he does not stand alone in Judaism as he does in Samaritanism, where he does not have to contend either with David or Solomon or Ezra, each of whom were Jews in

[29] "Corruption," "Tampering." *Cf.* II Cor. 2:17.
[30] Farmer: *"We saw the Holy City,"* 203.
[31] Mark 12:32.
[32] Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, 140/1. Sura 25:61.
[33] *Cf.* Sachar: *A History of the Jews*, 1940, page 18.

a sense in which Moses never could have been. Muhammad even seems to have thought that the local Jewry regarded Ezra rather than Moses much as the Christians regarded Jesus.[34]

Palestine was the first country of the Near East to come under the aegis of Islam, the central section of the country being always that part which fell first to invading armies: while we should remember that the Samaritans would welcome with relief the disruption of the Byzantine power just as hopefully and happily as any other group in the country, but their intellectual life had been stagnating for some time. Moulton speaks of their never having "shewn any theological originality."[35] They were theological syncretists as much as Muhammad, who borrowed from faiths that were far more alive. Even if the Samaritan adulation of Moses was noticed by the advancing Arab hosts, they could hardly do more than note that Muhammad had a similar place in their faith, especially after hearing him bracket himself as "apostle" with "Allah" in Madina days.[36]

And while it is true that the Emperor Justinian followed the example of Shalmaneser in selling 20,000 Samaritans into slavery in India and Iran and that in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries there were colonies of Samaritans in other places besides Nablus, this could scarcely imply as wide a vogue for the influence of their doctrines as Rabbi Gaster's hypothesis would entail. No one would deny that there had been considerable touch with Central Palestine on the part of Arab traders and even settlers down the centuries—one of the leading opponents of Nehemiah was Gashmu the Arabian[37]—but it would be quite another thing to posit the theological influence of the Samaritans as assuming such proportions as to fashion the verbal beginnings of Islam almost down to details. Contact with a Judaism they hated and despised, followed by intercourse with a Christianity which first won many adherents from amongst them, but

[34] Sura 9:30.
[35] H.E.R.E. xi: 164.
[36] E.g., in Suras 9 and 33.
[37] Or Geshem, Neh. 6:1.

which remained none too friendly as the years opened out, had mostly served to drive an already obstinate people more deeply in on its own resources, encouraging those already growing impervious to new ideas to greater "fossilization." We should look for the influence of the Samaritans on the monotheistic cult they held in common with others further back in history, when there was still a chance for a broader outlook—even if they had thrown their eighth century prophets overboard. Perhaps it was that these folk, living in a country which could hold out against incoming hordes far less successfully than either Judea or Galilee, gradually came to devote their energies to religious exercises. Perhaps they resembled Muhammad and the Moslems too in the possession of remarkable capacity for synchretism, religious or political, coupled with a growing tenaciousness of their own view point. When their ancestors imported a priest from Babylon, the local situation was summed up in memorable words:—"They feared Jehovah and served their own gods after the manner of the nations."[38] Does this mean that there were two groups of people inhabiting Samaria, the syncretists and the reactionaries? Can it mean that there was accordingly the possibility of better and bigger vision? If Samaria became the earliest seat of Hellenism in Palestine, was she not also the gate through which Christianity reached the outside world?[39]

This takes us back to the New Testament. No matter for the moment how they arose, it would seem unquestionable that at least from 200 B.C. the relations accruing between the Samaritans and their Southern neighbours had reached a most serious point of tension. The writer of Ecclesiasticus dubbed them "that foolish people that dwelleth in Sichem."[40] Josephus somewhat later does not appear to have succeeded in being much more polite.[41] The author of the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," writing about 109 B.C. went a little beyond Jesus the son of Sirach, when he de-

[38] II Kings 17: 33.
[39] *Cf.* Montgomery: *The Samaritans,* 283.
[40] Ecclus. 50:26.
[41] See Articles in H.D.B. Enc. Bib. and Antiquities *passim.*

clared that from "that day forward shall Shechem be called a city of imbeciles."[42] What the Jews said to Christ becomes more understandable in view of previous remarks of this nature. Shechem and Samaria had both been captured by Hyrcanus, the former within a decade of his accession, the latter about four years before he died. There was no love lost between the rival priesthoods; but was not history really repeating the feud of Rehoboam and Jeroboam on somewhat different planes? Early Christianity thus fell heir to an animosity already a millennium old, and which probably had always meant that the Samaritans got as good as they gave. There is not only the calumny against Jesus: there is the parenthesis in the story of the Samaritan woman about the Jews not having dealings with the Samaritans, which tradition, if overridden by the disciples as implied in this incident, may have been cultural and social rather than economic! There is the Lukan statement of the unwillingness of a certain village in Samaria to receive Jesus and the very reactionary Jewish attitude on the part of James and John, who possibly earned for themselves the sobriquet of Boanerges on this occasion.

But this is by no means the only picture, given to us in the New Testament, of the Samaritans; and it may perhaps be the right way to approach the other side of the problem by working backwards through the references, noting the credit as well as the debit side.

First, Paul and Barnabas, on their way from Antioch to Jerusalem for the Council of 49 A.D., had occasion to pass through Phenicia and Samaria, being the cause of great joy to the disciples of those regions in rehearsing how the Gentiles were turning to God. It would be interesting to know how far the Jews regarded the Samaritans as Gentiles. It would be still more interesting to know if by this time the Phenicians and Samaritans had ceased to regard circumcision as binding on Christians. This would appear almost to have become a racial issue for some of the "Hebrew" Chris-

[42] *Testament of Levi* 2:2.

tians. This Phenician and Samaritan joy, however, was in contradistinction to the consternation prevailing amongst the ultraorthodox, still remaining in Jerusalem. Secondly, the general summing-up, after Luke's manner, in Acts 9:31, leaves us with the impression that the Church throughout what we know as Palestine was pretty well organized and able to overlook the deleterious inheritance—outside Jerusalem. Thirdly, as far as Central Palestine was concerned, this organization was largely due to Philip's work—work which he handed on to Peter and John, but which had chiefly become noticeable in the reaction against the influence of Simon the Sorcerer, who had promulgated some fairly strong teaching with regard to his own person. Justin Martyr said that Simon was the founder of a succession of false Christs, "who preached a doctrine of self-deification."[43] Justin Martyr was himself a Samaritan of Graeco-Roman extraction in the century succeeding that of Simon.[44] He knew something of the diverse forms of faith that could be current in the "New City."

Simon was not only a runner-up to Jeroboam, but an historical character considerably nearer the time of Muhammad, and who left behind him a considerable following. In his lifetime some of his people became Christians, which was bad for Simon's prestige—a prestige which he hoped to redeem through coming to terms with the apostles. Philip even baptized him, which may have been premature. We should bear in mind too that the ministry of John the Baptist was by no means unknown in the Samaria District, for one of his Baptism places was at Aenon near to Salim in Samaritan territory.[45] His disciples may likely have buried his remains in Sebastiya because of his work in those parts.[46] The possession of the grave of the Forerunner was valuable in itself; so that in effect the duel in Samaria between Simon Peter and Simon Magus may have been partly over the

[43] *Cf.* Article in *Dictionary of Christian Biography* 4, 681 ff.
[44] Simon Magus came from Gitta, probably the village known today as Qaryat Jit, situated on a road direct from Nablus to Jaffa.
[45] Jno. 3:23.
[46] Sabastiya seems much more likely than Damascus!

question, Who is the true successor of John the Baptist, Simon Magus or Jesus Messiah? After all, the latter had equated John with that greatest of all figures in the folklore of Palestine, "Elias which was for to come."[47] It was hardly to be wondered at that in succeeding centuries after the recrudescence of bad relationships between the Samaritans and the Palestinian Christians, the former should have decided to stick to Moses for good and all.

Fourthly, there is the previous reference to the Jerusalem Christians being scattered through Judea and Samaria through the force of persecution—a phenomenon which presumably implies that Christianity had already begun to reduce the barriers between Judeans and Samaritans. We can be quite sure that this was just what our Lord anticipated.

The fifth allusion is the first in Acts, occurring in the Lukan formula of the Great Commission, "ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria," thereafter but only thereafter in ever widening circles. This was as much as to say that the agelong strife must become a thing of the past, before the Church could contemplate branching out further. "Samaria was the gateway to the progress of the Gospel."

This command, however, does not seem to tally at first sight with the express injunction of Matt 10:5: "Enter not into any village of the Samaritans," coupled as it is with the later statement that the disciples would not have covered the cities of Israel previous to the coming of the Son of Man. Of course there is a change of emphasis between the statements in the First Gospel and the Acts, but is it only due to a change in circumstances? The Matthean injunction at first sight does not quite sound like Jesus. Whether or not these words came into "Matthew" from the Nazorean Targum,[48] their insertion in the middle of instructions to the Twelve is all the more impressive as a saying of Jesus in very serious context. The words which follow qualify the injunction. "Go rather to the lost sheep of the House of Israel." It

[47] Matt. 11:14.
[48] So Bacon: *Studies in Matthew*, 84.

is worth noting that Jesus applied the same principle to Himself in the context of the Syro-Phenician woman, the incident taking place outside the boundaries of Palestine. "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel."[49] He brought the same criterion to bear on Himself in Phenicia as on the apostles in Samaria. May we here find the key to the abrupt prohibition to preach in Samaria? Preaching there just then for them would have been the line of least resistance. Jesus knew experientially how hard it was to get things across to the people of Judea; the Samaritans might at least have listened, once mutual confidence had been established, as it apparently could. It was missionary policy for Him at that juncture not to leave the circle of Jewish evangelization.

The prohibition meant that the missionaries were to take the harder course. The Gospel of Divine Love could not be based on a foundation of longstanding enmity. In the preaching of repentance you cannot trade on bad relationships. The time was not yet for the opening up of Samaria. It was not when Messiah stood face to face in the flesh with the Jewish people. If this exegesis does have an element of justification and so likelihood, it means that the prohibition takes on a different light; so far from being opposed to the main drift of Samaritan allusions, it comes into line. The passages in Acts are at once lit up. Samaria is the gateway to the universality of the Gospel, which Judea failed to be. There was of course danger attending more liberal thought, and the consequent vogue of the cult of Simon. But on the whole the challenge of the Universal Faith was appraised with more keenness and virility in Samaria, possibly partly because *Samaria would seem previously to have given up any idea of Messiahship, which involved political pretensions.* "I know that Messias cometh; when he is come, he will declare unto us all things."[50] There is nothing here which breathes the atmosphere of politics. The Samaritans had got beyond their concern for this kind of thing. The

[49] Matt. 15:24.
[50] Jno. 4:25.

Palace of Herod in Sebastiya, for instance, did not irk them as many of his Judean institutions irked the Jews. He even erected a Temple to Jupiter. Probably the Samaritans did not even object to his being half Edomite. It was not they who boggled at the idea of intermarriage, like some of the Judean leaders returned from Captivity.[51] Incidentally today the small community at Nablus are the least interested in the political impasse. They must be almost the most satisfied minority in existence. Incidentally too it is the question of intermarriage that has helped to save the stock.

A still more interesting remark on the part of the Sychar villagers, when they had opportunity to judge of Jesus for themselves, relates to this wider view of life. "We . . . know that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the World."[52] It is not very important whether *Christos* should be in the text, though the context looks in favour; for the significant phrase is *Saviour* of the world. Never mind if the Samaritan world even then was not of much account. On two other occasions only does the word "Saviour" come in the Gospels.[53] Otherwise it does not occur till post-Resurrection times. We are confronted therefore with the astounding fact that the one recorded occasion when Jesus was described as Saviour in "the days of His flesh", was in Sychar by Samaritans. Even if those commentators are right, who claim that the words are put into the mouth of the Samaritan villagers, it is equally staggering to have the conception read back into Samaria rather than Galilee. It was so spontaneous that it demands some background. Ecumenical Christianity has something to thank Samaria for; once more we are rewarded with the impression that unlike the Jews, there was no distinctly political connotation in Samaritan ideas of Messiahship.

There are affirmations on this *obiter dictum* in the Schweich Lectures of Rabbi Gaster. "The Samaritans will

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[51] Ezra 9:1, 2.

[52] Jno. 4:42.

[53] In the "Magnificat" and the "Angelic Song" (Lk. 1:47; 2:11). For the phrase here *cf.* I Jno. 4:14. In "Apocryphal Peter" there is the phrase "Saviour of Men" on the lips of the penitent thief. James A. M., 91.

recognize the divine rule as the supreme one; and *no man will represent that divine rule.*" "In opposition to the Jews, they repudiated everything connected with Jerusalem, especially the House of David; nor was their aim to obtain secular power."[54]

"That fully developed soteriology of the Redeemer of the world from sin through self-sacrifice was probably not known to the Samaritan or the Jew anterior to the period of the advent of Christianity."[55] This, supporting the fact that the use of Saviour only became common after the Resurrection and the first Christian experiences of salvation, means that we must search elsewhere for the use of *Soter* on the lips of Samaritans. How did they come to use it? What did it imply when used? Is it possible to suggest that it came by way of its adoption as a title by the Ptolemies?[56] Possibly this was in the nature of a reaction, as the Egyptian rulers hardly treated the Samaritans in a Saviour-like way. Julius Caesar was also greeted as Saviour in Ephesus. The title was also accorded to Vespasian by the inhabitants of Flavia Neapolis!

As for Messiah the Samaritans took natural objection to the House of David through its connection with Judea; and they held instead that the "Restorer" would come from the House of Levi, the tribe to which Moses belonged.[55] There was a growing mistrust of anything Jewish. It was in the days of Hyrcanus, no friend to the Samaritans, that the Messianic idea amongst Jewish thinkers underwent a change. At first Messiah was reckoned as springing from Judah; then from Levi until Hyrcanus' breach with the Pharisees —after that there was a swing back to Judah again. But it had been the "priestly character of the Maccabean Priest-Kings that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was to be Priest as well as King."[57] While we cannot be sure of the extent of the interplay of religious ideas as between Central and Southern Palestine there must have been some;

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[54] "*The Samaritans*," 90, 91. Italics ours.
[55] *The Samaritans*, 92, 64.
[56] H. D. B., 4:170.
[57] See Bevan: *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, ch. iv.

and the point arises that somehow for the Samaritans the Messianic expectation had become that of a purely religious personality connected with the priesthood.

The Samaritans had their own special name for Messiah—*Taheb* or *Taeb*. The root has connection both with "restoring" and "repenting." In Hebrew it tends more in one direction, in Arabic in the other. But it "exhibits at least the survival of a more primitive strain of thought."[58] Peter's reference to the "restoration of all things" springs to mind—a thought which led on to the quotation from Deuteronomy about the prophet to be raised up like Moses.[59] This verse has undergone many vicissitudes of interpretation, being canvassed alike by Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Samaritanism. When we come to the Pentateuch we must admit that there is no strongly developed idea of a political Messiah; for the conception belongs to a Judaism well-launched as it was in the days of the Maccabees. This development was naturally slow, as the post-exilic centuries opened out, and it seemed as if the prophecies were hardly being fulfilled. Peace and happiness were in the realm of hope: they had no real meaning for the hard times: the Jews lived in a period of unrealized eschatology. The Samaritans looked further forward with greater unconcern.

The prophets, many of whom hailed from the Northern Kingdom, do not seem to have been interested in political aspirations, concentrating on spiritual life and the worthwhile cultivation of the divine "Protection." This came to be characteristic of Judaism at its best, while the Samaritans threw over their prophetic possibilities, never getting beyond Moses for their later "great ones" never reached his greatness. For the returned southerners in the days of Persian Imperialism, the rebuilding of the Temple led to the expectation of some visible landmark of divine protection—their hopes frustrated in part by the Samaritan opposition, who never entertained that love for Jerusalem, which has always meant "Zion" for any Zionist Movement. There have

[58] Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, 245 f.
[59] Deut. 18:18. Acts 3:22.

been these two decades a recrudescence of something of this order—other imperialisms being in the background, and much of the intellectual opposition to the enterprise coming from that part of the country which used to be the Samaritan preserve. In those post-exilic times the Samaritans felt that the rebuilding of the Temple postponed the day when the Judeans might return to the true fold, and acknowledge the sanctuary on Gerizim rather than on Moriah. Scarcely ever after the split between North and South did the former keep Passover in Jerusalem, though in the eighteenth year of King Josiah was such a Passover kept to Jehovah in Jerusalem.[60] In other words there was quite enough historical antagonism to keep the two groups apart long before the Zionist Movement sponsored by one of the then great powers arrived with its "Balfour Declaration."[61] The Judaeo-Samaritan estrangement consequently deepened; other factors of division were on the horizon; Hellenism was to infiltrate through the gateway of Samaria, while others in the District would seem to have devoted their energies to the working-out of a minority-proud form of Semitic Monotheism, which forgot all about Elijah and Hosea.

We should retrace our steps to St Luke with his trilogy of stories of Samaria, bespeaking the narrowness of theological outlook, and the broader humanitarian aspects of a syncretism which seems to have been equally Samaritan. The inhabitants of a certain village refused that hospitality always expected in the orient, practically on theological grounds. A spirit of mutual vindictiveness wreaked itself on the undeserving Jesus. John must have recollected this incident, when he visited Samaria later, when times had changed. Probably he was Luke's source for a story in which he came out none too well. At the time they "went to another village," and St Luke has left us guessing which side of the tense boundary line it was situated.[62]

The next incident concerns the question of the Great

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[60] II Kings 23:22.
[61] Ezra 1:2.
[62] Lk. 9:56.

Commandments of the Law, held in common by Jews and Samaritans, reminding us that Semitic brotherhood outside Christianity tends to be exclusive. Our Lord's crowning of the conversation by relating the incident of the "Good Samaritan" was more than brilliant dialectic. Whether He was speaking of a premature attempt upon His life, or of someone within the circle of His knowledge does not matter.[63] The facts could never have been "faked." The Samaritans were not all as the others imagined; nor for that matter were the Judeans; but here despite both Jewish and Samaritan editing of the Torah, was agreement over the first two commandments. "A certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was." There was that in the make-up of the Samaritans, which the early Christians from Judea could not but recognize as having been grasped before by Jesus, who was paving the way for their great adventure into Samaria.

The last note of interest is the story of the "Thankful Leper." Jesus noted his Samaritanism, and the "leper" laws as applying to both groups. The lepers would probably congregate on the borders of their districts, where fraternization was possible. Jesus did not on this occasion pass through the centre of the country.[64] The Samaritan would have the shorter journey to get certified by the priest at Gerizim; and probably found Jesus somewhere down in the Jordan Valley, where John used to baptize. Jesus called him "foreigner." The Greek *Allogenes* (common in the LXX) is only here in the New Testament, but appears on the inscription found a century ago, which was fixed to a balustrade of the Temple Area separating the Inner Court of Israel from that of the Gentiles, beyond which no non-Jew penetrated but at his own risk.[65] If the Samaritans were not proper Gentiles, here they would be treated as such. Luke like Jesus would have likely seen the notice, but unlike Jesus could not go beyond it. But he records the fact that

[63] Warburton Lewis and others.
[64] Lk. 17:11. The nine Lepers were possibly Galileans.
[65] *Beginnings of Christianity,* Vol. 4:274. Thomson: *The Samaritans: Their Testimony to the Religion of Israel,* 35.

the final outcry against St. Paul was on the count that he had introduced Trophimus the Ephesian into the sacred precincts. As a direct result of this episode the apostle found himself in prison at Caesarea, a port in the *Samaritan* District, and hence perhaps chosen as a second seat of Government, which remained the one place in the area, where ultimately Christianity obtained a strong foothold. It is further worth meditation that it may have been from Caesarea that St. Paul forwarded his Encyclical, with its claim that "Jesus had become our peace—he who has made both of us a unity and destroyed the barrier which kept us apart."[66]

With all this information can we consider the origin of the Samaritan people adequately accounted for either by the curious story in II Kings—that a priest came west for the sake of Assyrian colonists, or that they were excommunicated Jewish schismatics.[67] What hope could one priest have of exercising educational and religious influence of the dimensions implied by facts? Can we accept the tale of the lions as enough to account for the growth of Samaritanism? Were the people from Assyria much more than military garrisons, something like the later one established by the Romans and from which Justin Martyr sprang? The main population of the villages can hardly have gone into captivity in 722 B.C. The Samaritan Tradition is that the returning Priest to Bethel was the High Priest of the Samaritan Community, Sarayah, who was allowed to invite all who cared to do so to accompany him back to their homes. The same treatment was later accorded to the returning Judeans. Sarayah's chief aim must have been the reestablishment of the sanctuary on Gerizim.

The vexed question of the Samaritan Pentateuch arises here. The Priest who returned "to teach the people the law of the God of the Land" must have had some credentials. He would have had both to offset the ravages of resurgent paganism; but he would have to have, like Ezra after him, some "book of the Law" from which he might teach.[68] Some

[66] Eph. 2:14.
[67] Whether in the period of Ezra-Nehemiah or later.
[68] Neh. 9:3; 13:1.

written code was essential. It is unlikely that the Samaritans would have suddenly borrowed the Pentateuch from a folk with whom they were none too friendly and then ascribe all the glories of supernatural origin and verbal inspiration to the loan; at the same time making changes in the text for the maintenance of their own position theologically and historically. Besides, the people who were left in the villages would have the traditions of mountains and "calves" to pass on to the newcomers. Traditions could hardly have been manufactured; and it is very difficult to think that the Northern Kingdom did not contribute to the growth and structure of the Torah. A few refugees from Shechem arriving in Jerusalem with the precious MSS. cannot account for the whole "Elohist" document. Those who went into captivity must have taken some material with them. After all, the Samaritan consistent attitude to the Torah has always been different from their attitude to the prophets whom they rejected to their loss. The Torah was theirs as much as anyone's else.[69]

The Samaritans also accept a book of Joshua; there would be no quarrel with this, for his work was accomplished in Mount Ephraim. The fulfilment of the injunction to bury Joseph's bones in Shechem is recorded in the last chapter of Joshua, while Exodus 13:19., where Moses is stated to have removed them from Egypt is regarded as an "E" passage. In the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs each of the sons of Jacob gets buried in Hebron,[70] which perhaps implies an anti-Samaritan piece of propaganda; while it may be that the original Samaritan Tradition, inherited by the Muslims of Nablus, that the *wali* close by Jacob's well houses Joseph's bones, speaks well for Samaritan Tradition generally. In view of the evidence it would seem inadvisable to regard the history of the Central Block of Palestine as starting afresh with the fracas of post-captivity days;

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[69] Thomson, chs. ix and following. Montgomery, ch. xiv. To both of these books this paper is indebted and the debt hereby acknowledged, as to the brochure in Arabic of the Rev. Canon Elias Marmura.

[70] Including Joseph, in defiance of Joshua 24:32.

and we should surely give the Samaritan Traditions as much consideration as Josephus in his criticisms of them.

Lastly, there is Justin Martyr, who calls himself a Samaritan, though actually of Roman parentage. His grandfather too was a native of Flavia Neapolis.[71] Justin must have heard the Emperor spoken of as the "common Saviour of all mankind." Justin was probably a pagan, for he did not come to a knowledge of Moses till later life, and he could never have learned of the prophets from his own people; but some of their influences surely came his way. As a Christian, Justin (like Clement of Alexandria) did not "throw off his philosopher's cloak." They were both ready to treat heathenism "with a certain respect. They were willing to trace God's teaching even in the errors of the nations, and were anxious to gather up every fragment of truth revealed through philosophy to them of old."[72] And Justin "was a Samaritan."

"That foolish people that dwelleth in Sichem" was how Jesus the son of Sirach described them; and we have to remember the frank statement too of Jesus our Lord at the very foot of Gerizim, at once pungent and penetrating, "Ye worship ye know not what."[73] This bears out the "rumour" that the Samaritans allowed their God to be called now by Jewish and now by Hellenic names, rather like Muhammad, who was ready to ring the changes at one time on "Allah" and "arRahman."[74] But it was certainly a most difficult position for this little people to maintain—to be the practical enemy of Judaism, yet potentially profess its religion. It still is. Christianity claims to be not the enemy but the fulfilment of both. That is what Justin Martyr would say. "Salvation"—we can but echo our Lord's words—"salvation is of the Jews," but the first corridor through which it reached the outside world was called Samaria.

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[71] D. C. B. 3:560.
[72] Gwatkin: *Early Church History*, I:177.
[73] Jno. 4:22.
[74] Sura 2:163; 25:61; 17:110. *vide* Stanton, *The Teaching of the Quran*, 23.

DR. BELL'S CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE QUR'AN*

Dr. Bell's translation of the Qur'an has suffered greatly in publicity and in circulation in the United States, not only because it was published in Great Britain and in two volumes, the second of which appeared during the war, but chiefly because of the prohibitive price of $6.00 a volume, resulting from the U. S. Customs charges. The first volume was noticed in THE MOSLEM WORLD for October, 1938, by Dr. N. A. Faris. Many of the readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD are undoubtedly acquainted with this translation only by title; for them primarily the present review is prepared.

Regarding his translation Dr. Bell says that Flügel's text has been made the basis, although other texts have been compared, and that verse divisions in this text have been corrected not infrequently; also that in translating, an effort has been made to bring the equivalent of the rhyme word in Arabic to the end of the verse in English, and that this is the cause of inversions in the English style of the translation which may occasion comment. The average reader will find the paragraph divisions and headings a great assistance, though in the nature of the case they, as well as the entire make-up of the page, are dictated by the critical hypotheses on which the re-arrangement of the surahs is based. This critical re-arrangement is the distinctive feature of the translation. It has involved a prodigious amount of research, as a critical opinion was necessary regarding every verse, and indeed every word, of the Qur'an.

In the Preface to the first volume and in a Note at the end of the second, Dr. Bell explains briefly his objective and

* *The Qur'an:* Translated, with a Critical Re-arrangement of the Surahs. By Richard Bell, B.D., D.D. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark. Volume I, Surah I-XXIV, 1937; Volume II, Surah XXV-CXIV, 1939. Price in Great Britain, 12s. 6d. net, per volume.

his methods. He tells us that the work was begun twelve years before the first volume appeared, and that it grew in complexity with each successive revision. The aim has been to understand the deliverances of Muhammad in their historical setting. Though the commentary of Baidhawi has been at hand continually, Dr. Bell has attempted to get behind the traditional interpretations, avoiding the dogmatic presuppositions of the traditionists, and employing critical "methods which they were precluded from adopting." During the study a great mass of notes was accumulated, but most of them have been suppressed for reasons of economy. Dr. Bell deplores the necessity, for he realizes that without this body of supporting evidence many of his judgments must seem arbitrary. He would, indeed, be the first to admit uncertainty in numerous cases, but he would have the reader assured of the sincerity and honesty of the endeavor that has been made. He trusts that enough certain results may have been attained to justify the methods that have been used. Arrangement of the contents of the Qur'an as a whole in historical order is a problem which he leaves to others; he would prepare the groundwork for that task.

Dr. Bell tells us that the necessity for a fresh translation of the Qur'an, presenting the results of critical study, was borne in on him when he was preparing his lectures on *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment*. An enumeration of the facts, presuppositions, and hypotheses on which his translation and re-arrangement depend may serve to introduce us to the work itself.

1. A lack of logical connection in the chapters of the Qur'an has been felt by many Westerners, and has often discouraged them from its perusal. This lack of continuity has given rise to the supposition, not peculiar to Dr. Bell, that the chapters are not to be accepted as unities *ipso facto*. Instead it is presupposed that the original deliverances of Muhammad were in the form of short utterances, which were afterward combined into longer sections, to some extent by Muhammad himself. When brief deliverances are looked on as the essential units, the appearance of very diverse subjects

in consecutive verses is understandable. The suggestion is made that the deliverances may follow each other in the order in which the different subjects forced themselves on Muhammad's attention, but in many instances recourse is had to other explanations, as we shall see.

2. Dr. Bell is very loath to countenance attempts at emendation of the text of the Qur'an. He has no doubt that the materials of our present Qur'an existed in written form when Zaid Ibn Thabit and his associates took in hand the compilation of a Book, and he is convinced that they performed their task with the most painstaking care. The materials had been recorded by Muhammad himself, or by others at his dictation.

3. To these preliminary considerations the hypothesis is added that, when the redactors undertook their task, they found themselves faced by voluminous and more or less confused transcripts of the deliverances of Muhammad. Some of the deliverances may have been combined already into longer sections, or even into completed surahs, by Muhammad himself. But in any case final determination of the contents of a given surah and arrangement of the collection as a whole were matters for which the redactors were responsible.

4. In connection with his studies for *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment,* Dr. Bell became convinced that in the period before the migration from Mecca Muhammad was definitely favorable toward Christians and Christianity, though he had only a vague idea of Christian doctrine in detail. This was, he tells us, "the first real shock" in his mind to the chronology of Nöldeke. He also became convinced that the epithet 'hypocrites' *(munāfiqūn),* which is found repeatedly in the Qur'an, came into use in connection with occurrences before and after the battle of Uhud, A.H. 3. This being the case, passages in the Qur'an in which this term is used cannot be earlier than that date. Acceptance of these two conclusions necessitated reconstruction of the generally received outline of the development of the thought and work of Muhammad.

5. The significance of such a reconstruction for the study of the Qur'an lies in the fact that the congruity of any passage with an identifiable historical situation is a main desideratum in arriving at a critical judgment regarding it. Adoption of a fresh order of events must inevitably change the dating of at least a part of the literary materials found in the Qur'an. What, then, were the new hypotheses?

A) The chronology of certain events during Muhammad's years at Medina is well established. Passages in the Qur'an, therefore, which are plainly related to them may be assigned to their historical setting without difficulty. Thus it may be said with assurance that the following surahs belong, entirely or for the most part, to the times indicated:

8, 16, 47, 48—after the battle of Badr;

29, 40, 47—after the battle of Uhud;

59—after the expulsion of the Jews of Nadir, and previously of the Jews of Quinuqa', from Medina;

33—after the affair of Zainab, the battle of the Trench, and the mass execution of the Jews of Quraiza;

24—after the affair of Ayesha;

58—after the treaty of Hudaibiya;

48—after the treaty of Hudaibiya and the siege of Khaibar;

9—after the subjection of Mecca.

B) When Muhammad left Mecca, it was with a background of friendly attitudes toward Christianity and Christians. At Yathrib, his new home, he came into direct contact for the first time with an organized community of the People of the Book, in this case an important Jewish community. His initial attitude toward these Jews was therefore friendly and conciliatory. He found, however, that he was not appreciated. He was treated with reserve, and was subjected to criticism, and soon to ridicule. His efforts at an amicable understanding were rebuffed, and growing hostility culminated in breach of covenant by the Jews, and open alliance with his enemies. Muhammad in turn became critical, suspicious, condemnatory, vindictive. The change of *qiblah* from Jerusalem to Mecca, A.H. 2, was the dra-

matic symbol and seal of his break with the Jews. He now declared himself and his followers to be adherents of the religion of Abraham, which antedated the religions of both Jews and Christians, and thus established a separate and independent religious community based upon *islām,* which he declared to be the essential and original element in all religion. At the same time Muhammad had opportunities to gain more accurate knowledge of Christian beliefs, and regarding some of them he expressed emphatic disapproval. It is concluded, therefore, that references in the Qur'an to Jews and to relationships with them, passages using Jewish words and phrases, and especially sections hostile to the Jews, are from the period of these contacts and disagreements. Therefore, also, passages in which Muhammad applies to himself and his adherents the terms *ḥanīf* and *muslim,* characteristic of his description of the religion of Abraham, must be subsequent to the change of *qiblah.* Therefore, again, passages critical of the belief and practices of Christians are presumptively Medinan.

C) For the period at Mecca, before the Migration, Dr. Bell recognizes that there are very few fixed historical events. In the reconstruction of this era and the dating of surahs to be regarded as Meccan, he cites the reliance of Nöldeke on style and phraseology, but says that neither of these can be decisive. Style may vary according to subject and purpose, and different styles may be used contemporaneously in different types of deliverances. It is true that the wording in one surah may be related to that in another, carried over from an earlier to a later usage. But this can be considered decisive evidence as to date only when a historical occasion for the first usage can be shown, as in the case of *munāfiqūn,* in the Medinan period. Reliable chronology for the years at Mecca must be based either on historical data, or, failing such facts, on the development of Muhammad's religious ideas. For this development we are thrown back, of course, upon the Qur'an, and from the Qur'an Dr. Bell reconstructs as follows the history of the Meccan period.

Muhammad began his work in reaction to paganism. He

advocated a reform in existing religious practices, substituting gratitude to and worship of the One God, Allah, for the worship of the lesser divinities of the Meccan pantheon. Faced by unbelief and rejection on the part of the Meccans, he enforced his message by threats of punishment. For a time these threats took the form of an imminent special calamity, a threat which he was hesitant to announce. Later, under the influence of Jewish-Christian ideas, the threats developed into a doctrine of future judgment, and of future punishment and rewards. In his earliest preaching, Muhammad based his call to the worship of Allah on the 'signs' which Allah had set forth in nature. Then, as he became conversant with the stories of previous messengers, he made use of these narratives, claiming for his own message the support of previous revelations to other peoples. During these years, Christian influences seem evident.

6. With this chronological reconstruction as a background, Dr. Bell classifies the literary activities of Muhammad as belonging to three periods:

1) A 'Sign' period, which was purely Meccan. Literary remains from this period are "scrappy." Their distinguishing characteristic is 'sign' passages.

2) A 'Qur'an' period, partly Meccan and partly Medinan, up to the change of *qiblah*. Muhammad was giving to the Arabs in their own language the stories current among Jews and Christians, and most of the narratives of former peoples and prophets belong here.

3) A 'Book' period, after the change in *qiblah*, and the declaration of the establishment of an independent religious community. The purpose now was to prepare for the new community a new 'Book,' which should be to the Muslims what in Muhammad's thought the Law was to the Jews and the Gospel to the Christians.

Some compositions from the 'Sign' period have remained in their original form, and are found still in this form in our Qur'an. Others were incorporated into compositions of the 'Qur'an' period. Similarly, writings of both the 'Sign' and the 'Qur'an' periods were chosen to form parts of the new

'Book.' At the death of Muhammad, twenty-two surahs which had apparently been designated for inclusion in the 'Book' were already so entitled, viz. 2, 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46. Ten surahs which once formed part of the 'Qur'an' series, viz. 12, 15, 20, 27, 36, 38, 42, 43, 50, 55, 72 (not including 41 and 43) appear in our Qur'an still bearing the 'Qur'an' title, showing them to be parts of the Meccan-Medinan group. Three of these 'Qur'an' surahs, viz. 12, 15, 27, exhibit a double designation, interpreted to signify their inclusion at first in the 'Qur'an' and later in the 'Book.' The opening verses of surah 42 have the same dual character, but the definite 'Book' title has not been affixed.

7. The component sections of the present surahs of the Qur'an exhibit characteristic words and expressions, by which the period to which they belong may be distinguished. References to the Quraish, the Ka'ba, the Haram-area are Meccan; likewise those to night-prayers, to the Day of Judgment, to famine at Mecca, to the bringing of a decayed bone to Muhammad; also expressions of humility. The stories of the ancient peoples and their messengers are characteristic of the second period, as has been said; also plots against Muhammad, and counsels of patience. Of greater critical significance are the words and expressions which Dr. Bell regards as signs of origin at Medina, after the change of *qiblah*. Such are *munāfiqūn, ḥanīf, muslim,* as has been mentioned; also *nabiyy, dīn Ibrāhīm, ṣalāt, zakāt, jannat-an-na'īm, Ṭāghūt, fasada* and *mufsidūn;* Allah and His Apostle; 'rich' as applied to Allah; believers, men and women; believe and do right things; invent falsehood against Allah; the affair belongs to Allah; disbelieved and followed their own inclinations; diseased hearts; lend to Allah a good loan; what you contribute; light sent down; likewise mention of gods not connected with Mecca, references to foods forbidden and allowed, and in general references to the Jews, and criticism and condemnation of Christians. The words and phrases just cited have been culled from the introductory paragraphs and the notes which ac-

company the surahs in Dr. Bell's translation, where attention is called to them as indicative of the period to which a given passage belongs.

With the perspective established by these considerations we may approach the concrete problem of identifying the original units of which each surah is composed, of assigning to each unit a date, and of explaining the presence of each unit in the connection in which it now stands.

8. Criteria appealed to for determining the minor units of which a given surah is composed are:

1) Variation in rhyme. A change in rhyme is taken to indicate a new unit of literary composition. Alternation in rhyme may show strands from two sources which have been interwoven, and one of these strands may be later than the other. Similarity of rhyme in two disconnected passages may be a sign that they are related.

2) Discontinuity of thought. Two passages now successive may be without essential thought connection, even be concerned with different subjects. A passage that is itself out of context may break the connection between what precedes and what follows.

3) Difference in vocabulary. Two different words may be used for the same idea in successive passages, as in surah 2.32 and 34, where the name "Iblis" is used in the first case, and "Satan" in the second. The inference drawn is that this change in name indicates the presence of two different sources.

9. Criteria which may assist in the dating of these minor units are:

1) Indications that some already dated historical situation is involved.

2) Occurrence of words or phrases peculiar to one of the literary periods already described.

3) When two passages treat of the same subject, one may show an advance upon the other, or exhibit some other characteristic that will assign it to a later date.

4) Explanations of terms are later than the terms themselves.

5) Very long verses are considered late; also surahs showing few, if any, revisions, except some surahs that are very early.

6) Minor sequences may be observed in passages relating to the Jews, as they are conciliatory, critical, or condemnatory; also in passages friendly to , or critical of Christians.

7) Still another general sequence is described, though it is scarcely given universal application. Corresponding roughly to the division into 'Sign,' 'Qur'an,' and 'Book' periods, we find a) passages in which Muhammad addresses the people, and speaks of Allah in the third person; b) passages which are addressed to Muhammad by Allah; and c) passages which are said to be parts of the 'Book' which is being sent down to Muhammad. The hypothesis is that utterances of the first type were characteristic of the early period of Muhammad's preaching, while the other forms of expression were typical of later years.

In many cases, however, all these criteria fail, and either the problem must be left unsolved, or else the translator must fall back on his own critical judgment and sense of fitness. This has often been the course to which Dr. Bell found himself shut up. Phrases such as the following abound: probably Meccan, perhaps not Meccan, palpably Medinan, belongs distinctly to the early Qur'an, gives the impression of being Medinan, must belong to the beginning of the period, looks like a later explanation, seems to me earlier, the language suggests, an afterthought, hardly early, more appropriate to Medinan Jews than to Meccan pagans. In all such cases, and Dr. Bell often follows his datings with a sign of interrogation, the critical sense of the translator is final.

10. There remains the question how the passages, few or many, short or long, and whatever their dates, came to stand in the sequence in the several surahs in which they exist today. Dr. Bell's solution presupposes not only that the original units of Muhammad's utterances were short deliverances, but also that in the combination of these units into the present surahs many misplacements occurred, and that these misplacements are the main cause of the existing inco-

herence. He accounts for the misplacements by the theory that Muhammad's original brief deliverances were recorded on the indifferent and loose writing materials at his disposal, often on mere bits of such material, often on materials already used in part. The possibilities of disorder, not to say confusion, become at once almost unlimited. A short deliverance having been inscribed, and it being necessary to conserve writing material, the vacant space remaining would later be used to record another deliverance. This last might be an utterance similar to the earlier one in import. In fact, the piece might have been laid by and saved with a view to just this use. But also the later writing might be entirely unrelated. Again, a series of sheets or faces might be filled with continuous discourse, and then the correct order disturbed, or extraneous matter intermingled. Yet again, both faces of a piece of writing material might be used. In such a case, either the entire inscription on both sides might be continuous, or the inscription on one face might be continuous, while that on the other was unrelated, earlier or later, and perhaps composite. All sections showing signs of having passed through vicissitudes of this kind must be conjecturally unravelled. And there is the further possibility of stray verses, not meant for publication, discarded, meant for Muhammad alone.

To vizualize to the reader the hypotheses by which he has dealt with these contingencies, Dr. Bell has made use of typographical devices which are a triumph of ingenuity, and are on the whole very clear. What happens when his hypotheses and methods are applied in individual instances may be seen from a few examples, increasing in complexity.

Surah 94 "is apparently a unity," one of the very few.

Surah 99 is a unity, except for the last two verses.

Surah 91 "consists of two parts." Verses 1-10 are "an excellent example of literary style," and imply "some idea of future judgment"; verses 11-15 cite the example of Thamūd, which "implies a special calamity, rather than a future judgment." We infer that the first section is the later.

Surah 65 is less simple. 1-3 concerns the waiting imposed

on a woman after divorce; 4-7 defines the length of this waiting, and the treatment the woman should receive. Then 8-10 and 11, 12 are two short deliverances which were written on the same piece of writing material, the one after the other, the reverse remaining vacant. Later, upon this reverse, 4-7 was inscribed, supplementary to 1-3 as we have seen. In transcribing for our Qur'an, the entire text on both sides was copied as it stood, as though it formed one continuous composition.

Surah 42 has complications of a different kind. Verses 1-4 form a title-paragraph, showing the inclusion of the surah in the 'Book'; 5-7 is an earlier title-paragraph, which has not been removed, showing that the surah was previously included in the 'Qur'an'; 8-10 is a passage spoken by Muhammad in his own name, a characteristic of the 'Sign' period. Thus there are indications of three strands of composition, which are consequently to be traced through the surah as a whole. Further, it is supposed that the 'Book' title-paragraph (1-4) was written on the back of the 'Qur'an' title-paragraph (5-7), and was meant to replace it, but that both were preserved by the redactors. Similarly, verses 13-23 belong to the 'Book' period, and were written on the reverse of materials that already carried 15-18 and 24-31, sections of earlier deliverances.

Surah 54 "may be read continuously, except at the end." There we find a question: "Are the unbelievers of you better than they?" (43a). This question is followed by four forms of conclusion, of successive dates, each of the last three composed to replace its predecessor. All have been included by the redactors, viz. 49-51, the original; 52, 53, written below the original conclusion and on the same face; 46-55, written on the reverse of this document; 43b, the final revision.

Surah 25, *al-Furqān,* is a longer and more complicated composition, selected at random. Its 77 verses fall into 19 sections, the first 46 verses into 15 sections of from one to six verses each, and the remainder into three longer portions (47-54, 55-61, 64-77), with an intervening short paragraph

(62, 63). Verses 18-21 were written on the back of 12-17; verse 33 was written on the back of verse 32; 35 on the back of 36, and 76 on the back of 77. In each case, back and front are not related to each other. In six of the sections, complete verses (48, 52-54, 57-61, 67-76) or parts of verses (1, 2, 47, 50, 51, 56, 62, 63) are assigned to later dates than their immediate context. 27, 28 and 29-31 are considered possible replacements for 24-26, which they follow, all three being here preserved. Similarly 60b was a replacement for 60a, and 66c for 66b. In addition, we find single words isolated, as being later insertions. Regarding the dating of these 19 sections, six are Meccan, three of them with Medinan revisions; eight are late Meccan or early Medinan, four of them with later revisions; five are Medinan.

The over-all picture of the Qur'an, according to the reconstructed chronology, shows 38 surahs dated as entirely Medinan, contrasting with 24 in the listing generally accepted since the days of Weil and Nöldeke; 18 as entirely Meccan, all from the earliest period, with 15 others as Meccan except for slight later additions; and 43 as falling in the intervening period, most of them containing both Meccan and Medinan elements.

Without question all students of Islam are under obligation to any scholar who attempts to synthesize into a coherent and progressive story the incomplete and often uncertain data which we possess regarding the life and preaching of Muhammad. Such an investigator, through constant dealing with the documents and events involved, will develop a critical sense on which a large measure of reliance can rightfully be placed. Yet when he comes upon some new objective historical fact which cannot be gainsaid, he cannot but feel that this is solid ground, whether it confirms his previous hypotheses, or not. It may not be amiss, then, to say that in these discussions, even where there may be a considerable consensus of opinion, there is urgent need of a greater body of objective fact on which to build.

It may be held with Dr. Bell that the rhyming of the

verses of the Qur'an furnishes us with one item of objective fact. Where there is a change in rhyme it may be inferred that there is a change of source. However, there are twenty-nine surahs which are completely a unit in their rhyming, and twenty-six others the rhyming of which is almost perfect, but this characteristic, while it does seem to signify that the individual surah as it now exists was meant to be viewed as a unity, is not proof of the absence of internal divisions. And on the other hand, Nöldeke assures us *(Geschichte des Korans,* 1:39) that variation in rhyme was in certain forms of Arabic composition *("in der höheren Prosa")* more acceptable than continued uniformity, in which case a simple change in rhyme would not have critical significance.

It may be said that breaks in the continuity of thought or narrative are objective signs, from which incorporation of a new document may be inferred, and there are certainly such cases, some where this hypothesis is confirmed by a change in rhyme, and some where the interpolation is evident because both thought and rhyme are resumed after the interruption. Yet intentional changes of subject can occur in continuous composition. Also, the Qur'an is not a repertory of logical argumentation, but is concrete in outlook, spoken in view of situations, and to be estimated in terms of purpose rather than of consistent thought.

Repetition may be considered another objective datum, an intention to substitute one form for the other being inferred. But may not a degree of repetition and repetitious expansion be intentional? And may not passages which to us of occidental psychological inheritance and scientific training seem repetitious make a quite different impression upon less critical minds? We are told that in the early years, before the text of the Qur'an was standardized, glosses were sometimes added to interpret difficult passages, and that this was held allowable, but that the glosses were understood quite definitely not to be part of the text. Presumably, then, whatever Qur'anic texts existed would have been held free from glosses, and repetitions considered intentional.

The supposition that Zaid ibn Thabit, when he was or-

dered to prepare a standard text of the Qur'an, was faced by "a confusion of written documents" raises many questions. Though distrust may be expressed of the tradition that Ibn Thabit had already made a collection of the deliverances of Muhammad nearly twenty years earlier, how is this hypothesis to be reconciled with the knowledge of Muhammad's literary affairs that Muhammad's amanuenses in his later years would seem likely to have possessed? And how does it comport with the fact that a number of "codices" of Muhammad's utterances were already in existence, documents later ordered destroyed, and that they seem to have differed from Ibn Thabit's text only in minor details?

The theory that pieces of writing material bore on the front and on the reverse recordings of unconnected utterances, and that the whole was copied into the standard Qur'an as one continuous composition is an adjunct of the theory of a confusion of documents. One can conceive that in an excess of care to preserve every deliverance of Muhammad passages irrelevant to the context might occasionally have been incorporated, but is there not great difficulty in supposing such a procedure on a large scale? When there were members of the Muslim community who remarked the presence of surahs 1, 113, and 114 in the text as standardized, and who protested the absence of deliverances about 'Ali, of the "Verse of Stoning" in punishment of adultery, and of two-thirds of Surah 33, which some declared missing, how is it that no protest was raised against at least some of the many cases here supposed of the introduction of misplaced verses into the surahs as they had been known in the life-time of Muhammad? Would not the custom of memorizing and reciting the Qur'an have established standards in comparison with which misplacements would have been at once apparent?

A further set of data promising objective grounding is furnished by terms which may be regarded as technical, when the circumstances of the appearance of the terms can be identified and dated. It was such a term, *munāfiqūn,* as we have seen, that influenced decisively the early thinking

of Dr. Bell. But it is not to be forgotten that these terms do not possess a technical character in themselves; common words acquired a technical character in certain situations. But before these situations arose, occurrence of the terms with simply their inherent significance was quite within the bounds of natural usage.

The hypothesis regarding Muhammad's thought of Abraham holds a key place in the re-arrangement of the Qur'anic materials. The question boils down to this. Did Muhammad gain his information about Abraham from the Jews at Medina, and then, in view of his troubles with the Jews, as a master-stroke of political and religious policy, break with them and declare himself a follower of this Abraham, whom he had first learned to understand at Medina? Or, under the stress of conflict with these People of the Book was he thrown back on what was already the religious kernel of the Islamic movement, of which the conflict tended to make him more clearly conscious, compelling him to define his religious position in view of Jewish opposition, a development that has occurred so often in the history of Christian thought? And did he at the same time apprehend in its universal aspects this religious kernel which was primitive to the Islamic movement and to his own experience at Mecca? If this latter view should be correct, use of the word *muslim* and cognate forms and of the word *ḥanīf* would not be restricted of necessity to Medinan days.

As to the attempt to reconstruct the activities of Muhammad at Mecca on the basis of the development of his religious ideas, as this development is mirrored in the Qur'an, is not the development of Muhammad's religious ideas the real problem? And is not what we need some evidence by which to establish the order of the contents of the Qur'an in order to determine the development of these ideas?

John E. Merrill.

Brooklyn, New York

BOOK REVIEWS

An Arab Tells His Story: A Study in Loyalties. By Edward Atiyah. London, John Murray, 1946. pp. 229. Illustrated. 12s. 6d.

In recent years much has been written on the bitter rivalry between Jew and Arab for supremacy in Palestine and on the patriotic backgrounds from which this problem has developed. At a time when there appears in English the biography of Theodore Herzl, the pioneer advocate for Zionism, such a book as Edward Atiyah's, "An Arab Tells His Story" serves as a reminder that other growing nationalisms challenge the Jewish claim to Palestine.

The sub-title, "A Study in Loyalties," gives a clue to the purpose and method of the book. It is not a detailed history like "The Arab Awakening," by George Antonius, nor does it furnish the wealth of documentary evidence such as given in Hourani's recent book "Syria and Lebanon." It is not even the story of one who has distinguished himself in leadership of the Arab cause. Rather we are shown the inner conflict of loyalties in the life of a young Syrian, educated largely in Egypt and England and now a government employee in the Sudan. The recurring theme that appears throughout the book is his changing loyalties.

His grandfather was a "most profoundly genuine Christian." Being something of a Puritan by nature he became a Protestant and later was ordained to preach. For one of his famous tracts which explained Christian truth to Moslem readers in the form of dialogue he was imprisoned during the first World War, although by that time nearly 90 years of age.

Edward Atiyah recalls the religious tension in the Lebanon during his childhood days early in this century. The older generation in often recalling the massacre of Christians by the Druses in 1860 kept vivid to the minds of the young the possibility of treachery. There were suspicion and hatred of Moslems. Formidable barriers separated even the different sects of Christians. Though taken as a very young child to live in the Sudan where his father, a doctor, like many other Syrians, had found opportunity for employment, he often returned with members of his family to Syria for indefinite periods. He recalls how he was greatly elated when an Italian naval squadron came to Beyrout harbour during the Turco-Italian war and sank two Turkish destroyers. During the bombardment he found shelter with others of his family at the British Mission Girls' School under the protection of the Union Jack. One sees something symbolical in this, for young Edward was already an avid reader of English literature and history and had adopted England as his spiritual home. Many Christian Syrians felt little loyalty to their native land as they emigrated to North and South America, to Egypt and Australia, for economic reasons. In the Sudan he was early impressed with the method, organization and official honesty of the British rule in contrast to the corrupt Turkish regime in Syria.

During the years 1914 to 1918 he was stirred by the heroism and prowess of England. But even before he left home in October of 1918 to enter Victoria College at Alexandria, Egypt, certain unfortunate experiences had revealed to him how inferior many non-British people were made to feel in the presence of Englishmen. At Victoria he came to know and admire two great Englishmen, headmasters of the College, C. R. Lias and R. W. G. Reed. He dedicates his book to them for in them he saw the best that England had to give. He learned in Victoria College the spirit of fair play and respect for other nationalities and religions. Amin Osman, an Egyptian Moslem, who later became Minister of Finance and was assassinated about a year ago, was one of the school leaders whom he came to admire. When Edward went to Oxford a few years later he found Amin as the secretary of the Soccer Club.

During his early student days he was little influenced by the growing nationalism in Egypt and Arabic-speaking lands. His second year at Oxford found him often in the home of an English family with many Oriental friends. Here he found not only an atmosphere charged with socialism and agnosticism where Shaw, Wells and Anatole France were highly rated but he also found in Jean, the daughter of the family, the one who was later to become his wife. On leaving Oxford he writes, "My early agnosticism had been confirmed, but I had not found a new faith to replace my religious beliefs." Yet he says, "I believed that the British way of life, based on liberal democracy and private enterprise, was the consummation of social and political development and the pattern of progress for the rest of the world."

A great blow to his adopted loyalty came when he joined the tutorial staff of Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum. Bitterness and resentment developed when certain British tutors made him feel the barrier between them and others of the staff. Seeking solace for his wounded pride in the company of some Syrian friends he and they decided that they had been taken in by a specious lure of European civilization. They turned to their Syrian heritage. Feeling that Arab nationalism was still motivated by religious emotion, Edward had no illusions about its weaknesses. However, he and his friends believed that it would become secular. Although he obtained a better post in the Sudan government and had as his chief an understanding Englishman, he calls the years before the second World War "the Years of Despair." The British policy of appeasement in Europe extended to Palestine in their attitude to the Jews. There were no Arabs in England, in the British Parliament, in the British Press to make real the injustice of the Balfour Declaration. England lost much of her prestige. Atiyah wrote a series of articles to *The Manchester Guardian,* but they were never published. Many of the young intellectuals among the Arabs were won over to Fascist ideals, while he toyed with the ideas of Russian Communism. But the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact disillusioned that dream, and England became again the sole claimant of his loyalty. After Italy entered the war his work in the Sudan expanded greatly as he was put in charge of Arabic propaganda. With the close of the war and the formation of the Arab League the author believes that peace will come in the Near East through co-operation between Britain

and Russia, through Arab unity and independence and by further implementing of the British White Paper of 1939. "The only major problem still outstanding between Britain and the Arab world is Palestine, but it alone is enough to poison the future if not solved in a manner tolerable to the Arabs." For the moment he seems to have forgotten Egypt's controversy with Britain regarding the Sudan.

As the reader comes to the end of this study in loyalties he may ask whether the author's view of the Arab question from the far distance of the British-ruled Sudan makes him unbiased or blinds him to the burning question of minorities in Arab states. With all his loyalty to British ideals has he discovered the secret of their greatness? When so many are doubting any dynamic in secularism and Western civilization to give us a just and lasting peace has the author sufficiently weighed the elements that will guarantee to the nations justice, freedom and the pursuit of happiness?

E. E. Elder.

New York City

The Jewish Problem in the Modern World. By James Parkes. New York, Oxford University Press, 1946. The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge. pp. 242. $1.25.

This is the first American Edition (almost right up to date) of a book written by Dr. James Parkes in 1939. Part iii is therefore new material. There is a bibliography and an Index, but few footnotes. Whatever Dr. Parkes writes, most others can read with pleasure and profit, though somewhat qualified profit in this case. It does not matter whether the book in question concerns the subject, of which he is an acknowledged master (rumor says that he is possessed of the most thorough library of anti-semitic literature in the world); or whether he writes a wartime Penguin under an assumed name, for there are no dull sentences, and the reader is carried *on* from one to the next, even where he is not carried *with* the learned author.

The pages of this little book are full of sympathy, enthusiasm and understanding (sometimes, naturally, one-sided). It consists of three parts. First, we are introduced to the world before 1914—the years when there was a resurgence of "anti-Semitism," a badly chosen word for what it is meant to convey, if ever there was one. Dr. Parkes' story of the Dreyfus case and its consequent reactions—its bearing on the life of Herzl, the father of Zionism—is well told. Those were days when people thought of possibilities. Part ii deals with the growing tensions and disillusionments after Versailles; the utterly unlooked-for catastrophe of the whole of German Jewry. Was Professor Margoliouth right in his feeling that somehow Germany had got hold of the idea that the Jews were being rewarded for their share in the Allied victory? Tragedy it was, in any case—a tragedy that spread outwards from Central Europe, as it had come there from farther east; and Dr. Parkes' story of Russian Jewry before 1914 no one will pass over. Tragedy it was too really in Palestine, despite the idealism of the settlements. How much better if Zionism had not taken its extreme political turn; how much better

if Palestine had not learned of "ghettos!" But are the troubled years really at an end? This is not the place for political controversy, but we are surprised to find Dr. Parkes stating on page 154 that "only a minority of the present Arab population are descended from" the rural population "who have dwelt in or roamed over the country since time immemorial." Dr. Parkes should visit Arab villages as well as Jewish settlements. This statement is followed by one reiterated on page 223 that "the majority are immigrants of the nineteenth or twentieth century from Northern Syria or elsewhere." We would like to know the authority for a somewhat misleading remark, though "or elsewhere" plays safe.

Secondly, Dr. Parkes mentions (page 157) the area occupied by the "Jewish Home," being unlike that of "Biblical Palestine," because it is confined today to the territory west of the Jordan, and of course only specific portions of that. With the exception of parts round the Lisan, we do not think that the Tribe of Judah, with which tribe most Jews must necessarily be connected, extended much across the river. Moses is said to have given this as an inheritance to other tribes of Israel. Has not this point been somewhat overlooked in discussions dealing with Palestine (as a whole) and the historic rights of World Jewry? What justification on this ground has political Zionism to Galilee—of all places?

There is a lot of worthwhile and interesting information available in these pages, but we think that Dr. Parkes should have put at least one tithe of the study into the Arab side of the question, which he has put into the Jewish. He seems to have taken too much on hearsay. On page 172 he speaks of the MacDonald "White Paper" as *tragic*. On page 143 of "Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-1945," the present Foreign Minister of Great Britain is quoted as saying that "the *tragedy* [italics ours in both cases] of the Balfour Declaration had been that it was unilateral." It would be a valuable thing for this document to be read alongside the "Jewish Problem in the Modern World." We wonder too whether the remarks made on page 198 concerning the early war years in Palestine are fair either to the Jews or the British or the Arabs. The main mistake (if such it was) made in high quarters was surely to let the world go under the impression (*vide* the instructions to the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry) that the Problem of Palestine and the Problem of World Jewry were somehow connected. "These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone." There are many people in Palestine who would query too much of the material on page 208 as quite misleading. "Stealing arms" is a form of activity in which quite different individuals can share!

But Dr. Parkes does not really speak in the first person singular until the last chapter; and for his description of Jewish plight—horribly unspeakable—there can be nothing but righteous indignation and for it there should have been much more righteous action. For this sin of omission the Palestine Arabs have the least to reproach themselves of any people in the world. On page 222 Dr. Parkes refers to the solution of a bi-national state, with which the great name of Judah Magnes, President of the Hebrew University,

will always be associated. But for the aims of Political Zionism, this might have been, but now! On the next page Dr. Parkes seems to succumb to the fallacy of the Arab hinterland, quite unpopulated, to which an Arab-Palestinian Dispersion might repair. One wonders whether Dr. Parkes recalls the story of Naboth's vineyard. This Epilogue raises more differences than any other chapter of this very readable book; but if author and reviewer come to such diverse conclusions over matters raised, how came it that twelve men could all agree in the report presented by the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry?

ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

Hartford, Conn.

Yunus Emre: An Oratorio in Three Sections; Opus 26. By Ahmed Adnan Saygun. Ankara, Turkey, 1946. The Milli Egitim Basimevi (Press of the Department of Public Instruction). pp. 32. Price 50 kr.

THE MOSLEM WORLD for April 1946, carried an article on Yunus Emre, the early Turkish poet, with translations of some of his poems of mystical aspiration. The above oratorio, the first to be composed in Turkish, contains several of the poems translated in that article. The oratorio was rendered publicly for the first time on the afternoon of May 25, 1946, in the presence of the President of the Republic, Ismet Inönü, and a distinguished audience.

The book opens with a preface by the Minister of Public Instruction. Then follows the text of the oratorio, accompanied by brief explanations. This is succeeded by a description of the music of each of the thirteen numbers, though notation is not included. Finally there is a seven-page comment on the oratorio by Prof. E. Zuckmayer, head of the music department at the Gazi Egitim Enstitusu of Ankara.

The oratorio consists of three sections, with an interlude between the second and third, consisting of a single solo. The theme of the oratorio is that of the poet's struggles in the presence of life and death, of God and human destiny, through which he wins at last to peace and union with the Beloved. The text consists entirely of passages selected from the poet with a view to developing this theme. The music is based in part on Turkish folk-tunes, harmonized for choral and orchestral rendition along the lines of Western music. The work was completed in 1943, but has had to wait three years for a hearing.

The first section comprises five numbers, two for choir with orchestra, and one each tenor, alto, and bass solos with accompaniment. In this section we are shown a Yunus who loves life and dreads death, who weeps because we know nothing and can know nothing of the life beyond.

The second section is also composed of five numbers, only one of which is for the full choir. Here we see Yunus in revolt against the Creator, who has fixed so irrevocably the fate of the world and of the individual. But, as from an unknown land, there comes a voice bidding him to the country of the Beloved. Yunus tells his heart: "Let's away!" But how? His only hope is in surrender to God.

The bass solo which constitutes the interlude reveals a Yunus who has learned to love God, but who has not yet found joy in that love.

The third section consists of two numbers, in which are heard solos and the full choir with orchestral accompaniment. Here we see Yunus at peace, lost in love, and ready to breathe his last on the breast of the Beloved.

It will be seen that Turkish musical themes and Turkish poetry have been used to construct an oratorio along the lines of a somewhat outmoded form of Western musical expression. How much of "Yunus Emre" is artistically creative, how much is imitative must be left to repeated hearings and the judgment of competent critics. Some of the Western audience was very enthusiastic; Turkish friends who were present give somewhat contradictory reports as to the genuineness of the applause with which the oratorio was received.

F. Lyman MacCallum.

Istanbul, Turkey

Two Queens of Baghdad: Mother and Wife of Harun Al-Rachid. By Nabia Abbott. Chicago, Ill. The University of Chicago Press. pp. 246. $3.50.

A Moslem does not usually talk about his wife in polite society, and a royal wife is a dangerous topic in any community that seeks to hide and protect its women behind the *purdah*. Perhaps that is why so little has been known before about the two queens of Baghdad whose stories are given in this book.

Nabia Abbott has gone to many sources for her information and has consulted many tales and traditions before sorting out the likely from the unlikely, the apocryphal from the historical. She was greatly hindered, she reports, by the vagueness of the Arab chroniclers, who either could not or dared not tell all we should like to know about Harun Al-Rashid's wife and mother. Accounts of court intrigues and political rivalries gave only hints of the influence wielded by the two ladies, but the charitable acts and public gifts attributed to them were so well known, so highly praised, and some so permanent, that they overshadowed fairly effectively the more private accomplishments of the two queens. Nabia Abbott has undertaken here to piece together and tell in a connected narrative the hitherto obscure histories of Khaizuran, first slave and then wife of the Caliph Mansur, and of Zubaidah, her niece and daughter-in-law, wife of that Harun of *The Thousand and One Nights* fame.

This book throws new and valuable light on a long-veiled part of the Golden Age of Baghdad. The court life of that great and glittering city comes alive again with stories of how fortunes were made or lost on the turn of a verse, of what extravagant measures the harem favorites took to hold the fancy of their lords, of savage punishments and fabulous rewards ordered at the whim of the proud caliphs. But perhaps even more important a contribution is the picture given here of the men, and especially the women, who

made that age the most glorious of Arab culture before the empire was torn apart by jealousies and revolts. If it can be said that it is the men who make the age, it can also be said that it is women who make the men what they are. Khaizuran and Zubaidah were both the wives and mothers of caliphs, and as such had a great share in the history of the Abbasids.

ELISABETH CALVERLEY LAWN.

Center Sandwich, N. H.

Southern Arabia, A Problem for the Future. By Carleton S. Coon. Washington, D. C. Publication No. 3793 of the Smithsonian Institution, 1945. pp. 17.

This pamphlet is far more important than its size would indicate. It is a reprint from the Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard, and the author is known by his work on the Races of Europe (1939). The introduction points out that Southern Arabia is the most neglected corner of the Asiatic continent. Yet it holds great secrets for archaeology and ethnology. It is a sort of "vermiform appendix" pocket where we can trace ancient civilizations crowded out or left deserted by the pressure of later cultures. Here flourished Sabaeans, Minaeans and Katabanians as well as Hadhramautis, whose splendor is recalled by the Queen of Sheba in Scripture.

The author describes the geography south of the great desert—the barrier that cuts off this land from Eastern and Northern Arabia. Then he turns to prehistoric times. The Empty Quarter, now desert, was once a fertile plain. The population of Arabia, now less than six million, "may have been twice as great in Paleolithic days."

There is a description of the four pre-Islamic kingdoms, with their capitals at Ma'an, Marib, Tamna, and Shabwa. Inscriptions and artifacts found there are in the Peabody Museum and also in the Imam's Museum at Sana'a. Two points in these crowded pages are worthy of note for our readers:

"Although it would please exponents of pan-arabian solidarity to think that all the Arabs in the whole peninsula and elsewhere form a racial and cultural unit, the truth is quite the opposite. Arabian unity north and west of the Empty Quarter may well extend into Syria, Iraq and North Africa, but south of the great desert the vermiform appendix plays its retentive role. Here, small, ringlet-haired men, painted blue, swear mighty oaths over the tombs of *Jnun*, milk their cattle, sleep in caves, and initiate their sons in mass ceremonies of an Australoid character. These men are not Arabs in the modern, Islamic sense; they are the survivors of an earlier race."

The other note refers to the ancient religion of South Arabia and the priests of the temples:

"Much of the land also belonged to the temple; on it were priestly colleges, each with its own Kebir. Thus, the prototype of the modern *Zawiya* and its sheikh or *fakih* existed in pre-Islamic Saba. Every member of society, of whatever class, was obliged to do some work on the temple lands, and the gods were offered sacrifices, ex votos, and the tithes of all produce."

There were three chief gods representing the Moon, the Sun and

Venus, represented on the inscriptions by a crescent, a disk and an eight-pointed star. The Moon-god was the most important. The deductions regarding this religion and its influence on Islam are less convincing. The author says, "much remains to be done." A bibliography indicates the earlier explorers and students of this field, especially Philby, Ingrams and the Danish archaeologist Nielsen.

S. M. Z.

The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. By Le Roy Edwin Froom, Vol. III. The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation from Colonial times to the Nineteenth Century Awakening. Review and Herald Pub. Co., Washington, D. C., 1946, pp. 802, $4.50.

This portly volume was sent for review and is the first of a four-volume encyclopedia on the historical development of prophecy. The remaining vols. I, II, and IV are to appear later.

The subject is not wholly germane to the field covered by our Quarterly but it has some threescore references to Islam and Mohammed as related to the interpretation of Bible prophecy by American writers, from Increase Mather, President of Harvard, to our day. There were great scholars and preachers who found in "the little horn of Daniel" the Arabian Prophet and his conquests. What will interest our readers is the full account of that earnest, although eccentric, missionary traveler, Joseph Wolff (pp. 461-481). Of Jewish birth, Catholic education, and finally Protestant persuasion, he became a great linguist, married the daughter of the Earl of Oxford and as representative of the London Society to Promote Christianity amongst the Jews, traveled in four continents. In the Preface to his Journal (1839) he states that he had "traversed the most barbarous countries for eighteen years, without protection of any European authority whatsoever, and . . . (had) been sold as a slave, thrice condemned to death, attacked with cholera and typhus fever, and almost every Asiatic fever in existence, and bastinadoed and starved."

He was versed in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Persian as well as European languages; visited the entire Near East (1821-1826) and (in his search for the Lost Tribes) Persia, Bokhara, Afghanistan, Cashmere, the Arabian coast and Abyssinia. He preached before a joint session of the American Congress in 1837 and in 1843 made a second dangerous journey to Bokhara to ascertain the fate of two British officers.

On his journeys he preached to Moslems everywhere and with more boldness than tact. He held discussions with learned *ulema* at Cairo and before the Prime Minister. In Alexandria, in 1847, he posted proclamations and held discussions, distributing Bibles and Gospels. "A great sensation resulted from one of his letters to the Mufti at Cairo," and the British consul urged him to leave Egypt.

This volume on Prophecy has some forty illustrations and charts, including three pictures of Joseph Wolff as bold pioneer preacher. There are 40 pages of Bibliography and an exhaustive Index.

S. M. Z.

William Carey: Especially His Missionary Principles. By Dr. A. H. Oussoren. Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1945. pp. xii, 318. Fl. 7.50.

The present volume does not presume to be a scientific biography of William Carey. The author points out that this has been done ably by such men as W. Pearce Carey, Marshman, Deaville Walker and George Smith. He feels it superfluous to duplicate what they have done adequately before, so he turns to a specialized problem, namely, Carey's missionary principles. His aim is stated as follows: "We hope that our description of his principles compared with other principles may forward the missionary scientific studies and that above all many non-Christians may be brought to the Cross of Jesus Christ as poor sinners" (p. viii).

What, then, were Carey's missionary principles? We cannot attempt to discuss these, but it may be advantageous to list a number of them, culled from the many pages of this book. These in turn are largely drawn by Oussoren from two sources, namely, Carey's *Enquiry* and *The Form of Agreement respecting the great principles upon which the Brethren of the Mission at Serampore think it their duty to act in the work of instructing the Heathen, Oct. 7, 1805.* We make no attempt to systematize these principles, but simply list them:

1. We are under obligation to preach the Gospel to all nations;
2. Not charity but obligation is the chief argument for the propagation of the Gospel;
3. Deeds, not mere words, must characterize our dealings with the heathen;
4. History proves the possibility and even necessity of missionary actions;
5. All obstacles to, and difficulties in, missionary activity can be overcome;
6. Missionaries must live *among* the people in the simplest manner possible;
7. Missionaries must support themselves by agricultural, industrial, or some other work;
8. Languages must be mastered on the missionary field as soon as possible;
9. A thorough knowledge of the religion and culture of the people must be acquired if the missionary is to deliver them;
10. An infinite value must be placed upon immortal souls;
11. All missionaries engaged in a mission enterprise should enjoy equality;
12. The missionary must abstain from all things which increase the prejudices of the people (among whom he labors) to the Gospel;
13. In missionary preaching, the missionary must never stray from the greatest subject of preaching, namely, Christ crucified.

This book makes clear that not only were there guiding principles for the missionary enterprise among Carey and his colleagues, but also that they were men of principle who were willing to spend their all to fulfill their life purposes. Unlike other missionaries who had preceded them in India, they built no estates for themselves. It is pointed out that Schwartz left money to people of his choice, while his colleague Gericke left 5000 pounds at his death. In contrast to this policy the Serampore missionaries adopted the principle of "divesting themselves of all right of property and consecrating it exclusively to the cause in which they had embarked by the formation of a common stock" (p. 165). Carey alone turned over earnings amounting to 46,000 pounds to the mission during his years of service, while the contributions of the home society for the same period came only to 2000 pounds!

In the third part of the volume there is an informative comparison of Carey's missionary principles and those of the Pietists, es-

pecially the Moravians. The areas covered in this comparison are the motives of missions, the organs of missions, the management of missions, the missionary instruments and missionary purpose.

While the volume is weakened by quite a number of typographical errors and misspellings of English names and terms, it yet represents a valuable addition to our missionary literature. It should indeed forward missionary study through its exhaustive presentation of the principles of one of the greatest missionaries of all time.

George W. Davis

Crozer Theological Seminary

The Problem of Education in Dependent Territories. The Yearbook, Number XV, of The Journal of Negro Education. Washington, D. C., Published for The Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, by The Howard University Press, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1946. pp. 578.

At the outset the reader of this impelling volume might assume that little of it would be helpful to people working in Muhammadan missionary areas. Actually, with the exception of possibly two chapters, the problems discussed do apply to Moslem lands, especially to the dependent peoples in them.

Furthermore, "The Role of Christian Missions in Education and Development in Dependent Territories," written by Dr. Emory Ross, which deals in the main with Africa South of the Sahara, gives a picture at the same time of much of Africa North of the Sahara. This chapter contains a vivid analysis of the situation in Africa today, the contributions of the Christian Mission, concluding with specific suggestions for missionary education in the future.

Added importance is attached to this book since it comes to us from the viewpoint of minority people, forcing us to look at the world through their eyes, with their aspirations for free, cooperative, abundant living, by means of the best education that can be provided.

The problem of this issue is presented at a very critical period in world life, when pressure is building up all over the world for democratic, progressive education. At the very moment when the nations of the world are considering human rights around the world, this volume summons them to consider, (1) the full rights of dependent peoples, (2) the urgent need of dependent peoples for an opportunity to prepare for the assumption of their full responsibilities in world order, and (3) the growing clamor of dependent peoples for an opportunity to share in the benefits of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Finally, this volume points the way toward which all organizations working in the field should direct their education. This is contained in the article by Margaret Mead, "Professional Problems of Education in Dependent Countries." Her position is this: That our educational techniques must be aimed at the goal of "world mobility and world participation in one generation."

R. T. Parsons.

Kennedy School of Missions,
Hartford Seminary Foundation

Abdul Baha's Questioned Will and Testament. By Ruth White. Privately published. Beverly Hills, California, 1946. pp. 129. $2.00.
Bahai Leads Out of the Labyrinth. By Ruth White. Universal Publishing Co., New York, 1944. pp. 254. $2.00.

These are two books published by the same author at an interval of two years. The one first noted questions the authenticity of the last will and testament of Abdul Baha. It seems the author has gone to no small effort in correspondence with the government of Palestine and various sources in different lands to learn whether a certain document was actually written by Abdul Baha as his will. She concludes the document on which the claim of the present leadership of the sect rests, is a forgery. Turmoil and division still seem to rage in this cult which claims unity as one of its fundamental principles.

The second book is more interesting to one who is not anxious to hear of the discussion concerning the will of Abdul Baha. It gives an account of how the author met Abdul Baha and made journeys to Haifa and later to Jerusalem. She has learned the extravagant language used so much by the Bahais, which is a reflection of common oriental exaggeration translated into English. With the reading of each Bahai publication, and they are indeed numerous, one wonders why people accept this teaching and doctrine in the place of the Christian religion. It seems certain that most of these people do not know the teachings of Christ. For example, to quote from the present book, "What we learned at the table of Abdul Baha—He who would be master must be servant of humanity." Which is of course a basic teaching of One who lived nearly two thousand years before Abdul Baha. The author is a mystic, as she reveals in her pages; how fine it would have been had her mystic path led her to Christ, the Saviour of the world, rather than to the leader of this eclectic sect.

J. Christy Wilson

Princeton, N. J.

Islam, Its Rise and Decline. By Thomas O'Shaughnessy, S. J. New York, The American Press, 70 East 45th St. pp. 40. 25 cents.

True to its subtitle, this is "a study of Mohammed, his teachings and of the Catholic Missionary Apostolate among Moslems." It is one in a series of missionary academic studies by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and, therefore, arranged for class-room use. There are seven chapters with study outlines and questions for discussion on the Prophet, the dogma, the five pillars, Islamic law, the conquests, the waning of the Crescent and missions to Moslems.

We like this brief manual (in spite of a few minor errors in detail especially regarding the Five Pillars) because it is Christian in its approach and its judgment of Islam. There is no exaggeration of defects but there is clear statement of disparity compared with Christ and His teaching. "In the light of present trends Islamism as a religion seems destined to play an increasingly smaller roll in world affairs," in spite of ardent Nationalism. There is a good sketch of Roman Catholic effort among Moslems. "From late medieval until modern times, Franciscans and Dominicans gave scores

of martyrs to their difficult apostolate in the heartlands of Islam that border the Mediterranean's eastern and southern shores. Their labors were extended in the late 17th century by the Lazarists, Capuchins and Augustinians. During the same period the Trinitarians and Mercedarians sold themselves into slavery to ransom Christian captives from the hands of Moslem masters." "In modern times experience shows that, where Islamism has full sway, indirect methods, such as education and example, are alone feasible. The saintly hermit of the Sahara, Père Charles de Foucauld, exemplified the latter method by leading a life of intense prayer, suffering and mortification among the Moslems of Algeria in the early part of the present century."

The author stresses the primacy of prayer and of a specially trained personnel; also schools and medical missions as indirect approach for the message.

S. M. Z.

New York City

De Zending in Oost en West: Verleden en Heden. By H. D. J. Boissevain. Deel II. Zendingsstudie-Raad. Hoenderloo. pp. 375 with map.

All students of Missions will welcome this the second volume of a general survey of the work of all missionary activities in the Dutch colonies. The first volume did not reach us. It was published in 1935 and this second part was delayed in publication because of the war and other difficulties. The editor of this report is Secretary of the Netherlands Mission Council at Zeist and has broad vision and sympathy for the many agencies, Dutch and foreign, at work in Indonesia. The history and work of each society are written by its secretary or one of the missionaries.

Chapter XI, the first in volume II, on the Nederlandsche Zendings Vereeniging is by Dr. Rauws, as is the following chapter on the Utrecht society. Fourteen other smaller organizations each has its place, including the Methodists, the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Bible Societies. There is so much detail that one cannot see the woods for the trees. More than thirty groups of Christians are engaged in the task of evangelizing the vast Dutch colonial empire with its enormous population. The map shows by a twenty-one color-shade scheme the distribution of these forces from Northern Sumatra to Central New Guinea! There are detailed statistics for each mission but, alas, no general summary.

The chapter on the recently formed Council of the Churches and Missions in Indonesia (1928) indicates that they sent fourteen delegates to Tambaram. There is no mention of the Japanese occupation or of the post-war changes in this entire area. But one gains the impression that in all of the missions there have been solid results in education, hospital work and the establishment of large indigenous congregations. The Index is excellent and covers both volumes.

S. M. Z.

New York City

CURRENT TOPICS

New Survey of Arabia

We learn from the *Geographical Journal* (London) that "During the last two winter seasons an expedition from the Survey of Egypt under Ibrahim effendi 'Azzam has been busy in Sa'udi Arabia. They have measured bases near Mecca and Madina with geodetic accuracy, connected the two by triangulation, and are in course of mapping the usual route between the two Holy Cities on the 1/100,000 scale. A town map of Madina on the 1/10,000 scale and a number of 1/1000 field sheets of a special area at Muna near Mecca have reached Cairo. Two special 1/100,000 maps of Mecca and Jidda with inset sketch-plans of both cities have already been published by the Survey of Egypt. It is hoped to continue the work next season."

An Interview with King Ibn Sa'ud

A correspondent of the *New York Times* tells of an interview he had with the Arabian monarch. The precautions taken and the royal character of His Highness are described by C. L. Sulzberger:

"King Ibn Saud drove in a sleek Mercedes cabriolet from his palace inside Mecca, where non-Moslems are not permitted, to Hadda, a resthouse on the pilgrimage route to the city, which is hidden behind a range of stark mountain peaks. The tents, especially set up this morning on the fringe of a green oasis near Wadi Fatima, named for the Prophet's daughter, had already been filled with comfortable chairs and luxurious Oriental carpets.

"I had motored a bit too far up to Shumaisi, a small stopoff even nearer Mecca beside the Hundaybiya Mosque, where Mohammed signed his first treaty with the unbelievers. Here, beside an ancient cemetery and beneath the ruins of a Turkish fort, King Ibn Saud occasionally has met foreigners.

"However, after redirection by Foreign Office officials who detected the error in the meeting place, Hadda was found with busy workmen just placing the finishing touches on the cluster of tents. Furniture was unloaded from trucks driven from Mecca. Panniers of food broiled on fires beyond and a company of soldiers in khaki and wearing green headcloths drilled in anticipation of seeing their sovereign.

"When the huge ruler who united this barren and holy land arrived he was accompanied by a large group of nobles, sheiks, members of his court and beautifully garbed warriors from his bodyguard, carrying rifles and pistols, gold and silver knives and sabers and wearing crimson, golden, blue and yellow robes.

"When Ibn Saud arrived the troops saluted him. The King and his principal courtiers, including his brother, Prince Abdullah Ibn Abdur Rahman, congregated inside the main royal tent, which was

freshened by an afternoon north breeze that curled palm fronds in the oasis.

"While jeeps and other vehicles, protected by machine guns, encircled the encampment as guards, the King and his followers, led by Ibn Saud's private Imam, faced Mecca for their afternoon prayers, kneeling and bowing in the direction of the sacred Kaaba four times. Behind the royal tent a company of soldiers formed simultaneously for their prayers and only a few sentries with half-bowed heads stood silent guard."

The Future of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

Political problems between Britain and Egypt do not terminate at Wadi Halfa but extend 1300 miles farther south over the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, governed by that strange "improvisation" the condominium, as Sir Angus Gillan, formerly of the Sudan Administration, describes it (The Sudan: Past, Present and Future, *African Affairs: Journ. Royal African Soc.*, Vol. 43, 1944, pp. 123-128). The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is a vast territory, nearly a million square miles in area, but sparsely populated, 6½million, of a poverty reflected in the Arab saying "When God made the Sudan, he laughed." But the country has certain potentialities, and it has high strategic interest. "The British are interested in the Sudan because of its strategic value on the Red Sea Coast, on the world air routes of the future, on the head waters of the Nile, and also because of the responsibility they owe to the Sudanese for an orderly and just progress towards self-government; it was, after all, British military power which created the present situation. The Egyptians are interested in the Sudan for historical and sentimental reasons, for the absolute security of their water supply, and for a reservoir of fighting manpower to increase Egypt's influence in the Middle East. They are also genuinely linked to the Northern Sudanese in language and religious culture" ("The Sudan: The Road Ahead," *Fabian Soc. Research Ser. No. 99,* London, 1945).

Both parties to the condominium have declared their intention of fostering self-rule. That aim is made more difficult by the fact that there are two Sudans, rather than one. The north is "Moslem, predominantly Arabic-speaking, backward by western standards but with some, though varying, measure of sophistication; the south, utterly primitive, polyglot, and pagan except where missionary influence is increasingly making itself felt" (Gillan). In other words, the north is part of the southern fringe of the desert Mohammedan world; the south is on the northern fringe of Black Africa. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan stretches between 22° and 4° N. North of 19° N. the country is virtually rainless; rainfall increases southward until in the extreme south it is 50 inches. But most of the country is arid, and the peoples are nomadic. "Whether it is the hardy Reshaidi tribesmen peddling camels into Egypt along a line of wells, or the Hadendowa (Kipling's Fuzzy Wuzzy) roaming with goats and camels in the Red Sea hills, or the Shukria grazing their camels up and down the great Butana plain southeast of Khartoum, or the Kabatish with their sheep and camels over the rolling plains of Kordofan, or the Baggara and Kinana, cattle tribes wandering in

long grass and scrub in southern Darfur, all are condemned by nature to a pastoral life, following up and down the boundary line of the rain for their food and water. Even in the southern Sudan, nomadic life is the rule, for the great annual flood drives the Nuer and the Dinka from their swamps to the high ground . . . In Equatoria and along the banks of the Nile settled agriculture is naturally practised, but even along the Nile the vagaries of the river make a permanent existence for [a] large population rather precarious" ("The Sudan: The Road Ahead").

The Sudan, however, is the home of a project that is "one of the most interesting social, political and economic experiments outside the Soviet Union." This is the Gezira Scheme, a million acres irrigated from the Blue Nile, a cotton-growing, profit-making venture. The three partners in the scheme, the government, the tenantry, and the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, share the profits in the ratio 40, 40, and 20 per cent. The scheme has been in operation for two decades and is the principal source of revenue for the country."

The Geographical Journal, London

What is a Levantine?

In a recent political essay, *Syria and Lebanon* (Oxford University Press) A. K. Hourani discusses many questions that are not related to politics, such as westernization and Arab nationalism. "How, he asks, are these people to enter into communion with the West and yet save their own souls, how escape becoming Levantines? To be a Levantine, he writes, in a striking paragraph, is to live in two worlds or more at once, without belonging to either; to be able to go through the external forms which indicate the possession of a certain nationality, religion or culture, without actually possessing it. It is no longer to have a standard of values of one's own, not to be able to create but only able to imitate; and so not even to imitate correctly, since that also needs a certain originality. It is to belong to no community and to possess nothing of one's own. It reveals itself in lostness, pretentiousness, cynicism and despair."

New Highways in Turkistan

The U.S.S.R. continue their economic and social process of revolution by penetration in formerly so backward Turkistan. A correspondent writes of this rapid transition from old to new:

"Industry has been stimulated by the development of hydroelectricity, for the water power of the upper courses of the rivers is a valuable natural asset. In Tajikstan the great dam and power station of Varzobstroy, 10 miles north of the capital, Stalinabad, supplies electricity in southern Turkistan. Farther north is the Farkhadstroy station, where the Syr Darya river leaves the fertile Fergana region and flows towards the steppes. Northwards again, the Chu River has been harnessed to supply the Kirgiz Republic.

"Finally, the pattern of the communication system is emerging as a necessary accompaniment to farming, manufacture, and trade. A railway system and skeleton motor roads have appeared where a

generation ago movement depended on the one railway track and the caravan routes. The great feats of road-building are those of the Tashkent-Stalinabad highway and the 'Road above the Clouds' which crosses the Pamirs. A northern highway of 500 miles is under construction in the Tien Shan ranges to open up the eastern frontier region. Air lines have been important in linking the administrative capitals of the Turkistan Republics, and also in anticipating ground communications over huge distances of steppe and desert, high ranges, and unbridged rivers."

Moslem Conference at Slovanka

The Annual Conference of the Fellowship of Faith of Moslems held near Bournemouth June 15th to 20th proved a time of spiritual stimulus to furloughing missionaries from Moslem lands, and equally to those who maintain them in prayer and gifts at the Home Base. From all fields—Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Ethiopia, North India, China, Central Asia—the same relentless opposition to the Gospel was reported. But there was no evidence of defeat or depression. This anti-Christian system, like all others, was potentially dealt its death-blow on the Cross. How many trophies and triumphs were spoken of by the missionaries whose inexpressible joy it has been to gather up the spoils of Christ's victory in men and women. We could have wished that all our C.A.M. missionaries, who see so little fruit from their labours, could have been present, and have gathered up abundant evidence from older fields of work of the power of the Word of God to save and deliver those who, under the comfortless creed of Islam, have been "all their lifetime subject to bondage."

—*Central Asia Mission*

Influence of Mohammedanism Upon the Customs and Institutions of China

The Moslems having had a long contact with China and having influenced it deeply should continue to use their influence and make it penetrate into the life of the Chinese people. For example:

1. *The Use of Silver as Currency.* In ancient times China used gold for more valuable currency and copper for ordinary use. Silver was known as white metal but it was used only for ornament. In the Chin Dynasty (265-318 A.D.) a proclamation was issued forbidding the mining of silver, but at the same time the smelting of copper was encouraged. During the T'ang Dynasty (618-904 A.D.) Lu Hsuen-kung memorialized the throne using these words, "In Szechuan they trade by means of cloth, in Kuangtung they trade by means of silver." It was in Kuangtung that the Chinese traded with the men of Islam. It is a known fact that only in modern times has silver been used as a medium of exchange. Islam can surely be given credit for having initiated this practice.

2. *The Chewing of Betel Nuts.* The betel nut has been regarded among men of society as an indispensable pleasant thing. In the past it has been regarded in the same light as cigarettes are to-

day. For the origin of the betel nut in China refer to the Chi Lei Pien by Chung Chi-yü of the Southern Sung (1127-1278 A.D.). His information came from the men of Persia. In the second volume of his book, he says, "In Canton the Persian women bind their ears with rings of ribbon, using more than twenty strands. In their houses they use bamboo doors. Their men eat betel nuts and their spittle is like blood. Northern people speak in ridicule saying everyone spits blood and their houses have no doors." At first this was laughable but now one pays no attention to it, which is a characteristic of human nature.

3. The Women of Ch'uan-chow Did not Bind Their Feet. The binding of women's feet is an evil practice. In all the world only China had this practice. This custom was most practiced in Southern coastal provinces of China, yet the women of Ch'uan-chow, South Fukien, walked with natural feet, straight and with excellent carriage. Recently Ch'en Wan-li has prepared a book called *A Record of Travel in South Fukien,* in which he says the practice of not binding the feet originated during the middle ages when there was a long period of contact with the Arabs.

4. The Practical Application of the Compass. The Arabs came to China from the Persian Gulf. They at first availed themselves of the Monsoon winds . . . but later they learned from the Chinese the property of the magnet which pointed to the poles. They improved it and installed it on their ships. This made a great step forward in navigation.

CHING CHI-TA'NG
—in *Friends of the Moslems*

The Southern Morocco Mission

From an interview with Rev. James Haldane, a pioneer in Morocco, reported in *The Christian* (London, Dec. '46) we learn that:

The Southern Morocco Mission was founded fifty-four years ago by John Anderson, who was the first Principal of the Glasgow Bible Training Institute. Visiting South Morocco for his health, he discovered that it was a land in which there was no missionary. On his return to Glasgow he made this fact known. Funds came in, and the first missionary, Mr. Cuthbert Nairn, was appointed and later became the Field Superintendent. Two years ago, where for fifty years he had laboured, he was stabbed in the back by a Moslem fanatic. The funeral service was conducted by Rev. James Haldane, a fellow-missionary, who succeeded him in office.

Mr. Haldane has spent thirty-four years in Morocco, and may be regarded as an authority, having written two books on the subject, "Morocco in Mufti" and "Missionary Romance in Morocco." In the early days Morocco was practically untouched by civilization; today it is a land of extraordinary contrasts. In the villages conditions of life are as primitive as those of a thousand years ago. The people live in straw huts or tents, without sanitary arrangements; the camel or donkey being the only means of transport.

The French introduced the iron two-handle plough, but after trying it, the Arabs rejected it in favour of the wooden plough used by their fathers from Old Testament times. Interspersed between

these primitive farms are others run by French, Swiss and Spanish farmers using modern agricultural implements.

In startling contrast to the villages are the towns. Casablanca, for example, is a new city, built by the French. With a population of half a million, it has all the features of a modern European city, including electric railways, trolley buses, cinemas capable of seating 2,000 people, and magnificent shops. The total population of Morocco is eight million, composed of Arabs, Berbers, Jews and Europeans. The Berbers, the original inhabitants of Morocco, had a heathen religion of their own, but after the Arab invasion in the seventh century, there was almost wholesale conversion to Islam, and there is now in Morocco a solid Islamic bloc. If missionary enterprise is to be effective, it must present a solid Christian bloc, without division, to meet the Islamic, and it has been Mr. Haldane's aim to induce all Evangelicals on the field to sink denominational differences and advance as one united body.

The Southern Morocco Mission engages in medical work; the distribution of the Scriptures by car, and in the Atlas Mountains by mule. It also works among the Jews, who number half a million. It has also established night shelters and a girls' school, of which Mrs. Haldane has charge. The school work is particularly important in view of the fact that in Morocco there is only 3 per cent literacy.

The Old Fable of 'Isa's Tomb

The Imam of the London Mosque (Ahmadiya) has once more "challenged the Churches:"—"A leaflet, one hundred thousand in number, has recently been distributed in Greater London. The gist of the leaflet was that Jesus did not die on the Cross, but escaped death and went to India and there died a natural death. His tomb in India has been discovered by the Prophet Ahmad of Qadian, Punjab, India, in whose person the prophecy concerning the second advent of Jesus is fulfilled.

"If any Bishop, Clergyman, or other ecclesiastical authority think otherwise let him come forward and refute the arguments of my book, 'Where Did Jesus Die?' I am always ready to prove my claim and to discuss it in public if any impartial and interested society will arrange it."

The Library of Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum, Sudan

The Gordon Memorial College, opened in 1902 as a primary school for young Sudanese and transformed in 1912 into a secondary school, has now become a post-secondary institution aiming at the status of a University College in the near future. It comprises Schools of Arts, Science, Agriculture, Engineering and Veterinary Science.

Its library is admittedly a modest affair built on a small but useful foundation of about 3,000 volumes inherited by the college from its own past. To these have recently been added another 3,000 volumes, the gift of the Civil Secretary of the Sudan Government, representing almost the entire contents of the library of the Secretariat

and consisting mainly of works relating to the Sudan and to Africa. Building up the library has all the interest of a pioneering venture. The present establishment is about 9,000 volumes, together with a small collection of maps and manuscripts, and there is a constant reinforcement received by purchase and presentation. The ambition of the College is to make provision for a library of a quarter of a million volumes to be accommodated in a new building specially equipped for the preservation of books in the exacting climate of the Northern Sudan.

The scope of the library is determined by its function. It will be the only library of any size in a large part of Africa and must be able to serve the needs not only of its own staff and students, but of all scholars and scientists in the area. Its place in the Sudan presupposes that it should contain a worthy collection of material about the Sudan, a work involving the acquisition of rare books and manuscripts. The position of the Sudan in the Near East, with the Islamic states on one flank and tropical Africa on the other, requires its shelves to be representative of the main currents of thought of those territories. Finally, the demands of the College academical curriculum make it necessary to stock the fundamental literature of the West in the realms of both the sciences and the arts.

The Librarian is Mrs. Juliana M. S. Hill, B.Litt., M.A., Ph.D., assisted by six student part-time library assistants, who are being trained in routine library practice.

A New Journal on the Orient*

This new publication, edited by Harvey P. Hall, deals with the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of present day affairs in the lands extending from Morocco to Central Asia and India. Its aim is to be accurate in its information and objective in its attitude.

The five articles of this first number deal with Arab tribal communities, Morocco, Iran and Turkey and have set a high standard. The issue includes a useful chronology of events in the region of the Journal's interest, together with five official documents of political importance. There are real reviews of sixteen recent books and notices of thirty-seven other publications. There is also an annotated bibliography of periodical literature listing 231 articles in European and Oriental languages.

We welcome *The Middle East Journal* to its needed field of service.

E. E. C.

✠ The Reverend W. G. Shellabear, D.D. ✠

In the death of the Reverend William Girdlestone Shellabear, D.D., on January 16, 1947, at Hartford, Connecticut, Christian missions and Oriental scholarship have lost a diligent and able servant.

* *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1947. Published quarterly by The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Shellabear was born at Wells, Norfolk, England, on August 27, 1862. He was a student at Haileybury College, that great training school of Orientalists, from 1877 to 1879. He was graduated as a lieutenant engineer from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1882 and had further training at the Military Engineering School at Chatham until 1885. From 1887 to 1890 he was a captain in command of Malays constructing the Singapore Harbour Mining Defences. In 1890 he became a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. for service among the Malays. He developed the Mission Press and prepared much Malayan Christian literature. He was appointed the chief reviser of the Malay Bible by the British and Foreign Bible Society and completed its revision in 1915. In 1913 Ohio Wesleyan University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

In 1891 he became a member of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and served as president from 1914 to 1918.

He came to America in 1920 and from then until 1925 he was instructor in Languages and Islamics at Drew Theological Seminary at Madison, N. J. From 1925 to 1934 he taught at the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford.

THE MOSLEM WORLD has published numerous articles by Dr. Shellabear on Islamic subjects. The last appeared in our Quarterly for July 1946. It was an account, prepared by request, of his literary activities. His *Malay-English Vocabulary,* published in 1902, was chosen by Vernon E. Hendershot as the foundation of a *Dictionary of Standard Malay*. Dr. Hendershot is now using the Shellabear *Practical Malay Grammar* published in 1890, for the Malay grammar he is presently preparing. Before he became ill, Dr. Shellabear had brought near to completion a dictionary of Malay words as used in sentences found in native Malay literature.

In the passing of Dr. Shellabear the world loses a great Christian scholar whose work will continue his service for the people of Malaya.

E. E. C.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL

In the Minds of Men. Dorothea Seelye Franck. (In the *Near East Colleges Quarterly,* New York. October, 1946. pp. 3-6).

Surveys American educational institutions in the Near East.

Mohammedanische Polemik gegen das Christentum in 1001 Nacht. Jos. Henninger. (In *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft,* Luzern, Heft 4, 1946).

A documented study of the influence of the "Arabian Nights" on the reading world and of its attractive portrayal of Islam to the detriment of Christianity.

Eleven Hundred Near Eastern Students Enter the United States. Dr. Ruth C. Sloan. (In the *Near East Colleges Quarterly,* New York. October, 1946. pp. 8-11).

The United States, free from imperialistic designs, is now preferred over England and France for educational purposes and 124 colleges and universities have foreign visitors.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Arab Middle East and the Modern World. H. S. Deighton. (In *International Affairs,* London. October, 1946. pp. 511-520).

Presents a survey of the modern history of the Levant from 1798, when Napoleon arrived in Egypt, to the present time when Egypt is pre-eminently fitted to lead the Arab world and when the Arab League expresses Arab political unity.

The Menace of Muscat and Its Consequences in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries. Laurence Lockhart. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1946. pp. 363-369).

An historical sketch showing how geographical position enabled Muscat to exercise much influence on the course of events in East Africa and on the west coast of India.

Syria as the Gateway between East and West. Sir Leonard Woolley. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. May-June, 1946. pp. 179-190).

Traces Syria's tremendous historical importance through the ages.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State. Afif I. Tannous. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. January, 1947. pp. 5-17).

Discusses the composition and importance of the group and

presents six suggestions for dealing with tribal affairs as a national plan for the Arab World.

IRAQ IN 1946. V. H. Dowson. Transjordan. Marcus Mackenzie. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1946. pp. 247-270).

Concise descriptions covering physical features, communications, agriculture, trade, politics and the various classes of people.

SYRIA AND LEBANON TASTE FREEDOM. Maynard Owen Williams. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. December, 1946. pp. 729-763).

A finely illustrated travelogue.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE ARAB LEAGUE IN WORLD POLITICS. Vernon McKay. (In *Foreign Policy Reports,* New York. November 15, 1946. pp. 206-216).

Traces the course of Arab awakening from Napoleon's time when nationalistic feelings were first aroused by the conquest of Egypt.

CONFLICTS IN THE ARAB EAST. Philip K. Hitti. (In *The Virginia Quarterly Review,* Charlottesville. Winter, 1946. pp. 32-33).

A documented study emphasizing Egyptian leadership, constructive Arab plans, British interest in Arab unity and the challenge offered the United States in the development of irrigation and power projects throughout the section.

NATIONALISM IN EGYPT. (In *The Times,* London. November 28, 1946. p. 5).

Recounts the activities of the *Misr al Fatat* and the *Ikwan al Muslimin* parties which represent the Wafdists and Young Egypt and of the Muslim Brotherhood under Hassan al Banna.

NATIONALISM IN MOROCCO. Walter B. Cline. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. January, 1947. pp. 18-28).

The radical divisions in society—Berber and Arab—town and country people—plus a great timidity among the townsfolk and a masterly French strategy keep nationalism from becoming a vital movement.

NETHERLANDS INDIES. Asoka Mehta. (In the *India Quarterly Review,* New Delhi. January, 1947. pp. 30-34).

India, instinctively sympathetic to all peoples struggling for freedom, welcomes the emergence of nationalism and liberty in Indonesia, where Sarekat Islam, formed by Haji Samouhoedi, influenced millions toward political consciousness.

A NOTE ON THE KURDS. Malcolm Burr. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-Octboer, 1946. pp. 289-293).

Sketches the economic and social condition of a primitive, proud race endeavoring to preserve its national life against mechanistic encroachments.

THE PLIGHT OF THE LEBANON. Michael Clark. (In *The Eastern Churches Quarterly,* London. July-September, 1946. pp. 381-388).

The trend of the United States and Great Britain toward Arab appeasement and the complete elimination of French influence are likely to throw the Lebanese Christians under Russian sway in the hope of maintaining Lebanese independence.

VII. PALESTINE

THE ARABS LIVE THERE TOO. Kermit Roosevelt. (In *Harper's*, New York. October, 1946. pp. 289-294).

Sets forth the Arab point of view.

PALESTINE. Photos by David Douglas Duncan. (In *Life*, New York. November 4, 1946. pp. 107-114).

No editorial comment.

PALESTINE AND THE JEWS. H. C. Burrough. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. November-December, 1946. pp. 323-324).

The clash in the Holy Land is one of mentality and nationality exploited by a few hot-heads for their own ends.

PALESTINE TODAY. Francis Chase, Jr. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. October, 1946. pp. 501-516).

The author finds the country and its present development much like parts of the United States in the last century and like modern California.

VIII. IRAN AND USSR

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN IRAN. George Lenczowski. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. January, 1947. pp. 29-45).

Describes the organization, programme and activities of the Tudeh, a national party, and of the Democrats, the party in power in Azerbaijan.

RUSSIA IN ASIA. Lieut.-Col. J. V. Davidson-Houston. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1946. pp. 356-371).

The Russian advance in the Near, Middle and Far East is spectacular and ever progressing, absorbing Christians and Moslems in its path.

TURKISTAN IN TRANSITION. H. E. Adler. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. May-June (Pub. Nov.), 1946. pp. 230-235).

Discloses the immense headway made in farming, irrigation, mining, road-building and manufacturing since the days of the Tsars and the feudal power of the Emirs of Khiva and Bokhara.

IX. TURKEY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLO-TURKISH ALLIANCE. Nihat Erim Kocaeli. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1946. pp. 347-351).

Reviews the accomplishments and potentialities of the tripartite alliance of 1939 between Great Britain, France and Turkey.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY SINCE MUDROS (1918). I. H. Qureshi. (In the *India Quarterly,* Delhi. July-September, 1946. pp. 213-228).

As a small, relatively weak nation with a strategically strong geographical position much coveted by powerful nations, Turkey has been forced into an opportunistic foreign policy which may drive her into absorption by the Soviet Union or by the Arab League.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE PROBLEM OF THE TURKISH STRAITS. Harry N. Howard. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. January, 1947. pp. 59-72).

A documented statement of our policy just before and during both World Wars, indicating our desire to have Turkey administer the Straits.

THE VILLAGE INSTITUTES OF TURKEY. Nuri Eren. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1946. pp. 281-288).

Describes the activities of one of the twenty institutes scattered over the countryside, where bright boys and girls are trained in modern methods of farming, nursing, teaching, etc.

X. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

ALI GOES TO THE CLINIC. Herndon and Mary Hudson. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. December, 1946. pp. 764-766).

Tells of the reception, examination and treatment given a patient in the new American hospital at Deir es Zar in Syria.

THE CHURCH IN NIGERIA. B. Lasbrey. (In *The East and West Review,* London. January, 1947. pp. 18-22).

Despite strong Moslem communities in the Northern Province, statistics for the last twenty years show that Christianity has spread amazingly and the Anglican Church is active in educational and medical fields.

NEW PATHS TO ISLAM. W. M. Watt. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1947. pp. 74-80).

True fellowship between Christians and Muslims is an increasingly helpful bond and their common belief in God is a basis for coöperation.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN EGYPT. S. A. Morrison. (In *Egypt General Mission News,* London. November, 1946. pp. 62-71).

Examines the mountingly restrictive policy of the government toward all foreign institutions for the ten years following the Montreux Convention of 1937 and finds small hope for improvement when the agreement ends in 1949.

A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1946. THE NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA. Margaret Sinclair and Norman Goodall. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1946. pp. 34-40).

Gives an encouraging all-over picture but stresses the great need for well-trained missionaries for medical, rural and all phases of educational and evangelistic work.